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ABSTRACT

This New Jersey Folk Artists in Education program brings community educators together with professional educators to enrich students' appreciation of their own and others' traditional cultures at the same time as they develop basic skills. The life stories of nine folk artists and their communities, as well as the stories of how they work together with their professional partners in the classroom, provide opportunities to explore informal learning situations as a supplement to formal learning. Following a description of the Cumberland County (New Jersey) Folk Artists in Education model and an overview of Cumberland County history, the next nine sections focus on the folk artists: (1) Sunkie Oye, Japanese-American folk dancer; (2) Joseph Gibbs, African-American gospel singer; (3) Andrea (Henry) Licciardello, auctioneer; (4) Adalbert (Al) Torop, Estonian-American painter and jewelry maker; (5) Albert Reeves, fisherman and hunter-guide; (6) Fenton Anderson, oyster planter; (7) Nina Kujdych, Ukrainian-American embroiderer; (8) Tom Brown, woodsman; and (9) Olga Fogg, quilter. Each section describes the life of the folk artist, presents an educational program, and suggests a curriculum outline. Five activities precede a course description and syllabus for folk life in the curriculum. A list of individuals and programs provides information on the participants in the Cumberland County Folk Arts in Education program. (CK)

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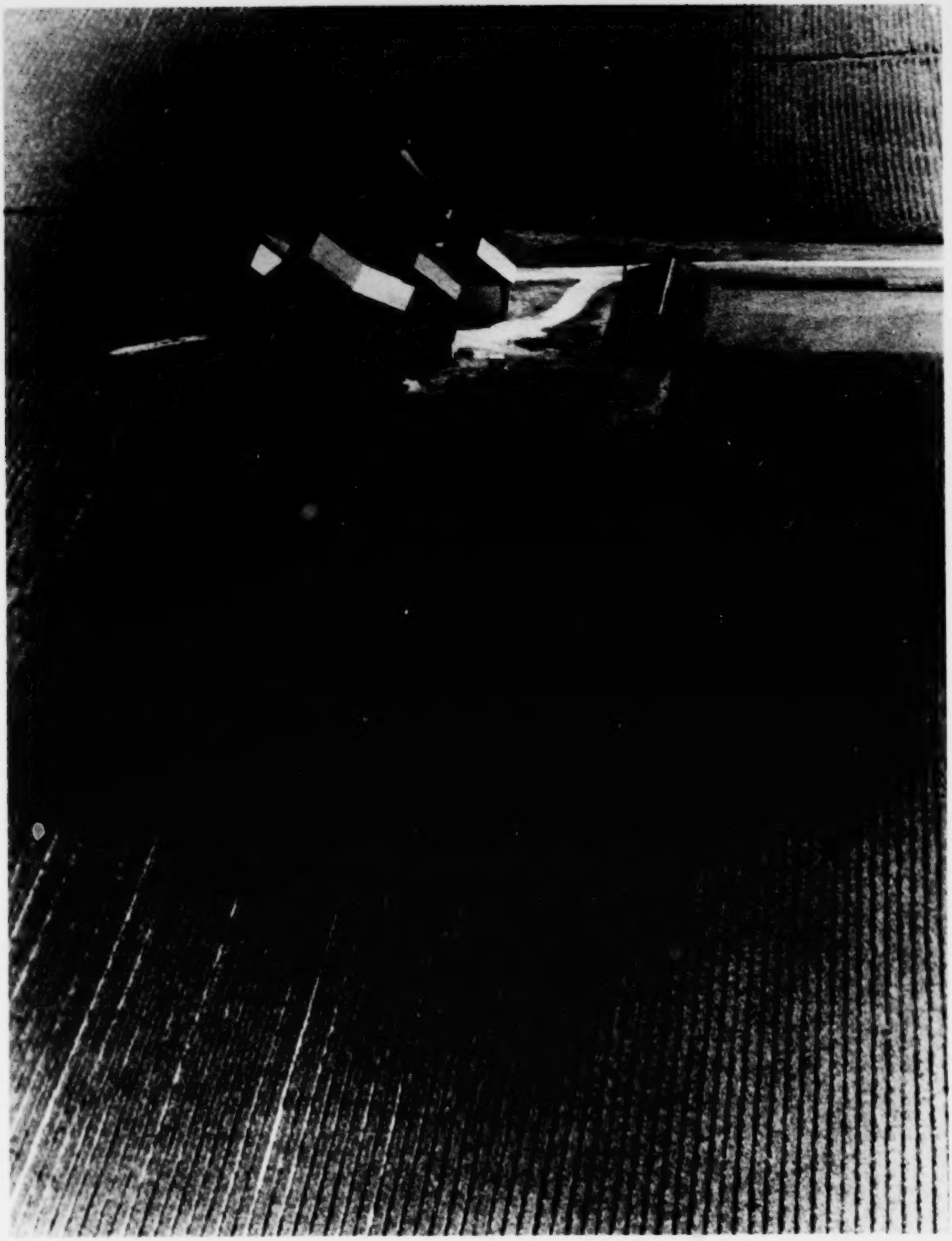

PASSING IT ON

Folk Artists and Education in Cumberland County, New Jersey

Rita Zorn Moonsammy

The New Jersey State Council
on the Arts, a Division of the
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Acknowledgments

THROUGHOUT my association with the NJSCA FAIE program, I was fortunate to work with many people who expanded my practical education in public-sector folklore—from Mary Hufford, with whom I first worked on a Folk Arts in Education project in Bayville, New Jersey, to Berda Rittenhouse, who helped me organize and structure the Cumberland County project, to the people of Cumberland County, who taught me about their place, to the artists and teachers, who participated in the programming. I am happy for the chance to thank them for their help.

Berda Rittenhouse, Arts in Education Coordinator at the New Jersey State Council on the Arts, first suggested that we develop a course for teachers, and she provided unflagging support throughout the project and the production of this book.

The folk artists who participated in the programs, and their families, were generous and helpful. Many of them welcomed me into their homes and shared their lives with me to provide the insights that are necessary to understand the cultural complexities involved in the production of folk arts. They include Hilda Abel, Fenton and the late Susan Anderson, Tom and Muriel Brown, Evelyn Cisrow and Beryl Whittington and their children Donald, Sarah, and Sherrell, Juan Ramon Dones, John and Lorraine DuBois, Olga Fogg, Joseph and Dolores Gibbs, Lehma and Ed Gibson, Nerallen Hoffman, Fusaye Kazaoka, Nina and John Kujdych, Andrea (Henry) and Janet Licciardello, the late Mary Nagao, Mariko and Ray Ono, Sunkie Oye, Albert Reeves, Merce and Arlene Ridgway, Jr., Adalbert and Irina Torop, Else and Albert Vilms, and Selma Virunurm and her husband, Harald.

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Finally, my deepest thanks to my parents for the family stories and visits to wonderful places that began my education in folk culture many years ago.

We all
Thank You...

During the family folklore festival at the conclusion of Al Torop's residency, the students presented him with a thank-you card. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

THE NEW JERSEY State Council on the Arts recognizes the rich ethnic, geographical, and occupational cultures that thrive in New Jersey and the importance of artists as community educators.

Folklore, the "passing on" of skill and wisdom, is as old as civilization. Whether it be a Shosone chief sharing myths of a coyote, or da Vinci passing on brush techniques to Guercino, or a grandparent retelling the family history to a youngster, folk arts provide insights into daily cultural lives. The special quality folk artists bring to the arts promotes a rich and integral part of every individual's total education.

The Council on the Arts is grateful to Folk Arts Coordinator and author Rita Moonsammy, Arts Education Coordinator Berda Rittenhouse, Cumberland County Library, and all the artists and educators for their generous time and energy working cohesively for the success of this project. A word of thanks must also go to the National Endowment for the Arts, which provided matching grants and served as cosponsor with the council and the Cumberland County Library.

New Jersey is fortunate to offer—to pass on—this innovative model of education to other communities, other states.

Sharon Harrington, Chairman
Barbara Russo, Executive Director

Foreword

SITTING in the office of the Bayville Regional High School, I watched two women—mothers picking up their children, I assumed—come into the waiting area. We waited together.

This was my first visit to observe the Folk Artists in the Schools (FAIS, later Folk Artists in Education, or FAIE) program.

Mary Hufford, the folklorist who was coordinating this program, arrived and greeted me enthusiastically. Somewhat to my surprise, she introduced the women who had been waiting with me as Lillian Lopez and Arlene Ridgway, the folk artists who were visiting the school that day.

As the new AIS program coordinator for the New Jersey State Council on the Arts (NJSCA), I had participated in the planning sessions for the residency with Linda Buki, the NEA FAIS coordinator, and Mary Hufford, the folklorist for the NJSCA FAIS program. Before I attended this meeting folk artists had brought to my mind images of people dressed in colonial costumes, making candles, caning chairs, and spinning freshly washed wool into yarn.

In these planning sessions, Hufford had discussed the Pine Barrens research that had taken place prior to the six-week FAIE residency. I had heard words like moss press, shoebees, sneak boxes, charcoal "kills" (kilns or pits), glass gaffers, clam stales, Sew and Sews, foragers, and Waretown Recyclers, and my education had begun.

We followed Hufford into the Home Economics Room, and I saw teenage girls with their Farrah Fawcett hair styles and long painted fingernails, wearing Candies (the high-heeled wooden clog-type shoes that were the fad at that time). I looked at the girls and I looked at Lopez and Ridgway with their bulging bags of groceries and thought, "This will never go."

The clams, onions, and sauces were unpacked. The girls' faces, disdainful as the clams were shucked and chopped, said, "I'd rather be somewhere else." I knew this class was doomed to failure.

I was wrong.

Lopez and Ridgway took the looks and groans in stride and continued to assign chopping duties and to talk about the clam diggers working early in the morning using tools and techniques that had been handed down to them by their fathers, and about shipwrecks and shipwreck stews, following this with stories and Lopez's poems about survival in this harsh environment.

I watched the girls and saw their faces change to interested and enthusiastic as they listened and then recalled memories of food their grandmothers had taught their mothers to make. We ate the clam chowder together and it was indeed good.

The next day I went with Hufford to Chatsworth to see Robert Fuller. Fuller was then in his late eighties. He showed us a large boxy object which was his homemade moss press. It would be taken to the high school the next week to use in his demonstration for the students.

He also showed us the highly absorbent and sterile sphagnum moss that is used as a base for floral arrangements and surgical dressings. After the moss is gathered from the swamp and dried, he bales it in the moss press. Wet moss can weigh as much as ten to fifteen times the same amount of dry moss.

But Robert Fuller himself was the "treasure," telling stories that gave meaning to the phrase "gifts from the earth."

Days later, I met ninety-year-old Herb Payne, a charcoal maker who with his sons and the students was building a charcoal pit. The students, with Payne's sons, would take turns tending the pit night and day until the batch was finished. Ron De Conde, the assistant superintendent, said experiences such as this had changed the students' negative attitudes toward the senior citizens in the area—an unexpected side benefit.

All during the residency I heard Hufford stress to the students that the first step in understanding folklore was to look into one's own traditions of families and communities and find the folk artists in one's own family. I felt deprived. Surrounded by all the rich ethnic, geographical, and occupational cultures in New Jersey, I couldn't think of one that had survived in my family.

But the education I'd received from Buki and Hufford changed all that. When I returned to Iowa to visit my mother, I listened to her and my aunts and uncles with new respect. I started to make the connections with their lives and the traditions of a farming community. I remembered

Grandpa, as a seventeen-year-old who heard the gunshot that opened the Oklahoma Territory;
tales of the shivaree, when my mother was stolen on her wedding night, imprisoned in a corn crib on wheels, and hauled through the center of town until my father ransomed her by throwing a party for the perpetrators, friends, and family;
the shivaree for my grandfather and his bride, somewhat more subdued, but with all the home-made ice cream and soda pop that a seven-year-old could ever dream of;
thrashing time, when all the families came together to help each other harvest the oats;
my father braiding my hair in the intricate patterns he used to plait the manes of the Clydesdales to show at the county fair;
expressions like "you're so pale you look like a string of suckers";
homilies such as "a whistling girl and a crowing hen often come to some bad bad end";
the pillowslips decorated with my mother's tatting and crocheting; and
the crocheted rag rug I made for my children.

I discovered the folk arts in my family to pass on to my children.

When the residency was completed in Bayville, Hufford suggested that we look into a residency in Cumberland. She was intrigued by the richness of the cultures located there. Then she sighed, "I'd love to work with teachers." In 1982, when folklorist Rita Moonsammy took Mary Hufford's place with the Folk Artists in Education program, she brought ten years of teaching experience. Following Hufford's suggestions, we decided to build a program in Cumberland County and to focus on teacher education.

The publication of *Passing It On*, the final product of that project, is a dream come true. We knew that in the Cumberland FAIE model, we had developed something special. The model worked, and it gave us a form we could use to develop other models for dance and poetry. Each was slightly different, but kept the "take a course—take an artist home" concept developed in Cumberland County. This publication validates the efforts of all who were involved and the concept of the importance of "community educators." It may spawn new ideas, as the Cumberland model has done already. Linda, Mary, Rita—"Hooray."

Before I close I have one question. Does anyone know the origin of "whippy jawed"? It was a phrase used by my mother to describe something askew. Not long ago in Newark, New Jersey, during an architect's residency in Arts High School, a student struggling with a design erased a line he called "whippy jawed." The bell rang and the boy left the classroom before I could use the folklorist's techniques to find what culture or tradition a farmer's daughter from Riceville, Iowa, and a student from Newark, New Jersey, shared.

Berda Rittenhouse

Introduction

In 1982, when the New Jersey State Council on the Arts (NJSCA) Folk Arts in Education (FAIE) program in Cumberland County, New Jersey, began, the idea of bringing folk artists into the schools was gaining currency as an innovative approach to teaching students about the culture they live in. Several folk arts residencies had in fact already been sponsored by the NJSCA as part of the state's Arts in Education (AIE) program.

In the AIE program, students and teachers work closely with artists of various kinds—poets and other writers, dancers, actors, singers and other musicians, architects and designers, photographers and other visual artists, folk artists, craftsmen and women—in an effort to illuminate for students the many facets of creativity that go into making up the cultural world. The special quality folk artists bring to this program is their ability to provide insights into the art forms that are woven into daily life in diverse cultural communities. Folk artists learn their skills through their participation in the life of a community that shares ethnic, regional, or occupational identity. The forms they create are of special significance to the group because they are part of the community's traditional lifestyle and expressive of its values. Whether a form is as utilitarian as a boat type or as ephemeral as a dance step, it is subject to the aesthetic criteria of the community. Folk artists articulate these standards in their work. When students work with a folk artist in the schools, they gain insight into how art exists in other cultures and what their role is in conserving their own culture.

Folk arts residencies contribute to fundamental educational goals that transcend the arts. They integrate diverse cultural communities into the formal education system in two important ways. First, they broaden the content of the curriculum with information on the history, values, and way of life of the many groups that form American society. Second, they incorporate the teachers and methods that are part of the "informal" learning systems of those communities.

The folk artists who participate in FAIE programs generally play an important role in passing on traditional knowledge within their own cultural communities. Because they express themselves within traditional parameters of the community, they serve as both artists and "community educators." They pass on their experience in community settings in which they are actively involved in projects with friends, relatives, co-workers, or neighbors. An accomplished "minyo" dancer helps young Japanese-American girls learn dance steps for an Obon festival. A seasoned oysterman gives a young captain tips on handling sails in the complex maneuvers involved in dredging oysters. A member of the senior men's gospel choir at an AME church helps the junior choir perfect its harmony. A Ukrainian-American woman shows a group of her children's friends how to create "pysanky" for Easter. In these informal learning situations folk artists are the teachers; and experience, observation, and interaction are the methods.

Although such learning situations are not usually thought of as part of formal education, they are in fact an important part of every individual's total education. Much of what we need to know to perform effectively in the family, neighborhood, ethnic group, work place, or church is learned through our observation of role models, our interaction with peers and elders, practice, and self-instruction. What's more, informal learning supplements—even activates—much formal education. Professionals who prepare for their careers with years of formal training gain much of their skill and knowledge through out-of-school experiences.

A holistic concept of education will therefore include out-of-school settings as well as classrooms, experiential activities as well as text-centered lessons, and community members as well as professional teachers. A folk arts residency implements this concept of education. It integrates the content and structures of the cultural community with those of the official education system. It brings community educators into the schools to teach in tandem with professional educators. It creates small-group learning situations within the classroom and provides first-hand experiences as the focus of structured lessons. In all this it enhances the connections between community and school.

In 1978 the NJSCA, in cooperation with the National Endowment for the Arts and Rutgers University, had introduced a folk arts program as a special component of its Artists in Education (then called Artists in the

Schools) program. Linda Constant Buki, at the time the Arts in Education coordinator for the NJSCA, had set up the first FAIE program in Cinnaminson High School in Burlington County. For this project, the folklorists Patricia Averill and Angus Gillespie conducted research and brought ethnic and regional folk artists into the school for demonstrations and performances. Buki then hired the folklorist Mary Hufford to coordinate a project at the Veterans Middle School in Camden County. Hufford's program, which culminated in a festival for the community, included a wide range of school residencies and performances by folk artists who represented the varied cultural groups of the Cramer Hill section of Camden. Her landmark publication, *A Tree Smells Like Peanut Butter: Folk Artists in a City School*, describes the Cramer Hill project. Her next project involved research on the Pinelands region in several New Jersey counties, eventually resulting in a program in the Bayville Regional School District. Berda Rittenhouse, the Arts in Education director, mentions three of the Bayville residencies in her foreword; like the Camden program, the Bayville program also included community festivals.

Japanese-Americans of all ages perform traditional Obon dances during the annual July festival at Seabrook Buddhist Church. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

As these programs developed, the concept of the folk artist's residency grew from a single workshop or performance to an extended cooperative endeavor among the artist, the teacher, and a core group of students, a format that encouraged greater involvement of all parties. During the same period, folklorists in many other states were also developing models for FAIE programs. Regardless of the program structure, all the folklorists had a common concern: involving teachers in the construction and presentation of the programs, and creating an impact on the schools that would be sustained after the program was finished and the folklorist had left.

The desire to integrate folk studies into the curriculum combined with the NJSCA residency concept produced the particular shape of the Cumberland County FAIE program. Rittenhouse had suggested that we develop the program around a teacher-training course, and with her help and the guidance of the Cumberland County FAIE Advisory Committee, I formulated a graduate course that would assist teachers in developing curricula for folk artists' residency programs.

Folklife in the Curriculum, as the course was called, was offered in the spring semesters of 1983 and 1984 through the Office of Continuing Education at Glassboro State College. Twenty-one teachers and librarians completed the course and created curriculum-based residency programs in a variety of settings. The materials they developed for their programs have been catalogued at the Cumberland County Library, and several of these participants have repeated their programs or

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During the 1980 Bayville Folk Artists in the Schools Program, students from Bayville Regional High School try clamming with tongs during a residency with bayman Joe Reid of Waretown. Photograph by Doug Elliott.

gone on to create other projects with folklife topics and folk artists. Between 1986 and 1988 the NJSCA duplicated this program model in Essex County, New Jersey, in cooperation with the Arts Council of the Essex Area and Montclair State College.

Today, FAIE programs have multiplied around the country, and many excellent new models have emerged. In several states folklorists have worked with educators to create statewide curricula for folklife studies. Yet the need for more curriculum models and resource materials remains great, particularly in view of our heightened awareness of multiculturalism.

Thus, we offer this book, which has two aims. First, it presents a model of FAIE programs for folklorists and educators, both in New Jersey and nationally. Using some of the materials developed by the Cumberland County FAIE participants, it provides descriptions of specific programs, curriculum materials, and resources that can be incorporated or adapted. Some teachers in South Jersey may be able to duplicate these programs, and teachers throughout New Jersey may be able to use some of the materials to teach state history. But most will use the background materials on cultural groups as a model to create programs with people from their own area whom they recognize as community educators. Folklorists may also find here insights into the workings of the public education system.

For educators everywhere, however, the book and

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Selma Virunurm shows her handiwork to Arts in Education coordinator Berda Rittenhouse during a residency with students of Phyllis James at the Holly Heights School in Millville. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

the Cumberland County model may best serve as an impetus to find new ways to connect schools with the cultural communities they serve. Whether through folk artists' residencies, Foxfire-type documentation projects, statewide folklife curricula, neighborhood ethnographies, family folklife units of study, or innumerable other formats, local culture belongs in the curriculum.

No less important is the second aim of the book—to present to the people of Cumberland County a portrait of themselves and their place. A large portion of the book describes the county's history and some of its cultural groups, primarily through biographies of nine of the folk artists who participated in the program (a list of all the residencies is given in the chapter "Cumberland County Folk Arts in Education Participants and Programs"). These sections describe the individuals and their skills in the context of their communities, each of which is important to the complex culture of Cumberland County. Although these biographies will be useful to educators in the region, they may also appeal more generally to those who are interested in local culture. Because the structure of the book was determined by the structure of the program, not all the important cultural groups in the county, or even all the artists who participated in the programs, are profiled here. It is our hope, however, that what is presented will motivate others to document the cultural communities of this fascinating region and incorporate them into educational programs.

The Cumberland County FAIE Model

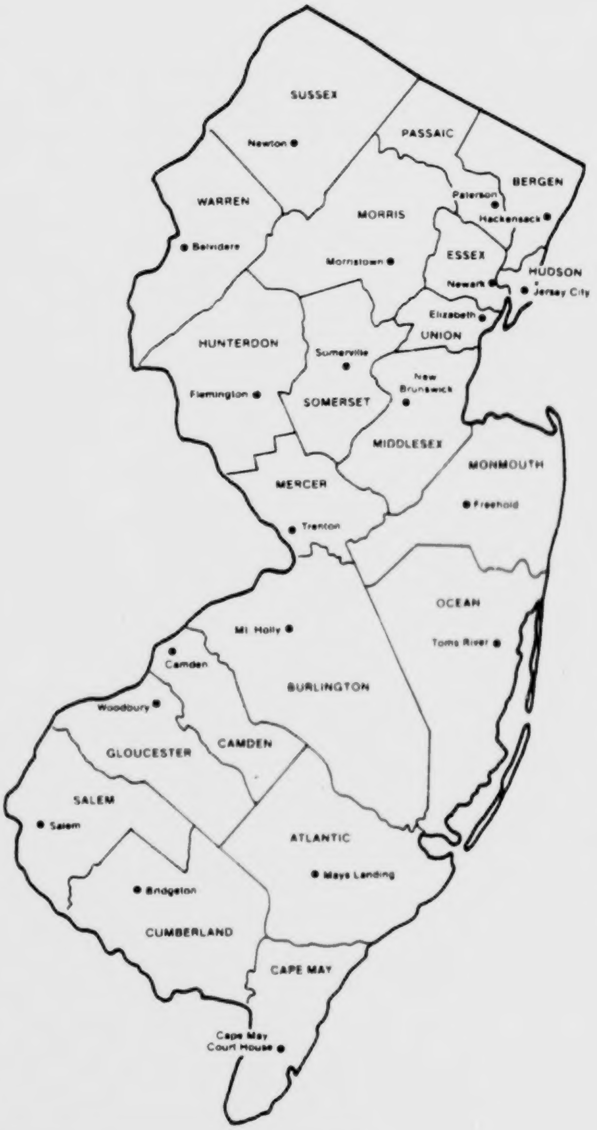
Project Construction

THE CUMBERLAND COUNTY FAIE project was guided by a holistic approach to education and grounded in an ethnography of the county. The primary goal of the State Council on the Arts was to involve community educators, who were identified through fieldwork, and teachers, who were prepared through course work, in the development of a curriculum that would integrate grade-level and subject-area objectives into a residency program.

An advisory committee helped shape the project. Several agencies in this culturally rich but economically poor county banded together to guide and support the project in cooperation with the NJSCA. The Cumberland County Cultural and Heritage Commission sponsored the program, and the Cumberland County Library, the Cumberland County Continuing Education Council (CCCEC), and the Office of the County Superintendent of Schools helped construct and implement the project. Each agency was represented on the advisory committee, which also included teachers from several county school districts and AIE Coordinator Berda Rittenhouse.

The advisory committee wanted the project resources to be as widely available throughout the county as possible. Its members also thought that a program for teachers would be both more successful and more useful if it offered professional compensation. With these goals in mind, we created two programs: Boats and Bivalves, a Saturday enrichment program for middle-school-aged children, and Folklife in the Curriculum, a graduate course for teachers.

Each of the cooperating agencies helped with advertising and enrollment. In addition to housing Boats and Bivalves, the library disbursed project funds, produced brochures and posters, and assisted with their distribution to other county libraries and schools. CCCEC members advertised the programs in their respective publications, and the County Vocational-Technical School, a CCCEC member, housed the graduate course. The Office of the County Superintendent of Schools created a network of educators to recruit teachers.


SUSSEX
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Jersey City
Elizabeth
UNION
HUNTERDON
Somerville
New Brunswick
Flemington
SOMERSET
MIDDLESEX
MONMOUTH
MERCER
Freehold
Trenton
OCEAN
Mt. Holly
Toms River
Camden
BURLINGTON
Woodbury
GLOUCESTER
CAMDEN
SALEM
Salem
ATLANTIC
Mays Landing
Bridgeton
CUMBERLAND
CAPE MAY
Cape May Court House

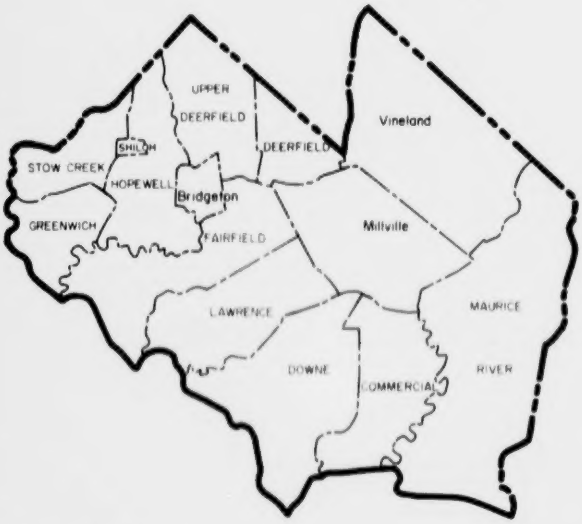
New Jersey counties and county seats.

Preparation for the Program

Preparation for the program began a year before its implementation with an ethnographic survey of the county. Through ethnography, cultural groups and their social structures are identified and described. These descriptions illuminate a community's history, values, and lifestyle, and provide the basis for identifying important traditional expressive forms and the folk artists who have mastered them.

The research began in the county library, where written histories provided information on the county's social, economic, and political development. Socioeconomic configurations could be gleaned from demographic reports and occupational profiles from industrial and agricultural reports. Local histories, memoirs, biographies, and newspaper articles provided portraits of cultural groups and their members. Lists of county organizations and agencies pointed the way to individuals who could fill in these broad outlines with details from personal experience. The librarians themselves were among the most important sources of information about the county.

The archival research yielded a blueprint for field research—a list of occupational, regional, and ethnic groups. The list includes historically important occupational groups such as maritime workers (fishermen, clammers, crabbers, oystermen, boatbuilders, smiths, shuckers); agricultural communities (farmers of salt hay, dairy products, nursery plants, poultry, and vegetables and fruit; auctioneers; migrant workers; and Anglo, Italian, and Jewish farmers); glassmakers (glassblowers, glass cutters, glass painters, and mold makers); and woodsmen (trappers, hunters, and guides). It includes regional cultures (Delaware Bay, Pinelands) and local communities with distinct histories and traditions (the Alliance colonies, Shiloh, Mauricetown, Gouldtown, and Landisville, for instance). And it is made more complex by a multiplicity of ethnic groups who have been intricately involved in the social and economic changes in the region: African-American, Native American, English, Dutch, Estonian, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Jewish, Polish, Puerto Rican, Ukrainian, Russian, and Swedish, among others.



Cumberland County.

The rich array of cultures challenged a limited fieldwork budget and calendar. Field research within the various groups necessarily followed the path of least resistance—some groups were simply easier to reach than others. Whenever possible several community members were interviewed to identify the important cultural themes and forms of their groups, including events, rituals, performance arts, crafts, lore, and work skills. Then the artists themselves were interviewed several times about their lives and skills.

The product of this research was visual and written documentation of cultural groups and their community educators, as well as information about other people, places, and materials that could be used to develop programs. Although the ethnographic survey could not cover all groups equally well, it provided a foundation for the programs that followed. Today, project resources have contributed not only to the FAIE programs in the schools and libraries, but also to local programs in historical societies and museums, to festivals, to state-supported projects such as films and exhibitions, and to national projects such as the American Folklife Center's Pinelands Folklife Survey and the Smithsonian Institution's Festival of American Folklife.

Project Implementation

In the fall of 1983, youngsters aged nine to twelve were invited to participate in Boats and Bivalves, an enrichment program about oystering. The group met for two hours on Saturday mornings for eight weeks. The program's goal was to introduce students to research and documentation techniques through their investigation of oystering.

This program heightened local interest in FAIE and served as an example of the kinds of activities that could be developed. While Folklife in the Curriculum was being advertised through the media, brochures, and professional networks, regional newspapers published feature stories on the people and activities that were part of Boats and Bivalves. The publicity assisted the recruitment effort for the teachers' course and stimulated interest in local culture. (See "Children's Educational Program" in the chapter on Fenton Anderson for a description of the program.)

In the spring semesters of 1983 and 1984, the Office of Continuing Education at Glassboro State College arranged for Folklife in the Curriculum to be offered to teachers in the Cumberland County area. The course was accredited for three graduate units in the Foundations of Education Department, making it applicable toward requirements for a graduate degree in education. This status in turn made it applicable toward school district educational improvement requirements and, in most cases, eligible for tuition reimbursement. The class met for approximately three hours once a week for fifteen weeks at one of the college's off-campus sites, the Cumberland County Vocational-Technical School, which is centrally located in the county.

Folklife in the Curriculum was designed to meld NJSCA goals for holistic arts education with the structure and needs of the public education system. That system comprises not just the classroom teacher, but a multileveled curriculum and policy-governing system as well. Individual school principals, school-district curriculum and procedural supervisors, local school boards, and state education departments all have an impact on the policies, procedures, and curriculum requirements in the schools. Generally, curriculum for each grade or subject area includes criteria for the teaching of content, concepts, and skills. What goes on in class each day and over the year is subject to these criteria.

Teachers are the articulators of these objectives and must find ways to translate the curriculum requirements into effective learning experiences for their students. The teacher is acquainted with both the individual personalities of the students and the particular character of the group that those personalities create. In developing curricula teachers must find appropriate activities and applications for their students. In addition, each teacher brings to the classroom a personal set of goals, priorities, and interests.

A main goal of Folklife in the Curriculum was to help teachers develop units of study that would fulfill these needs and integrate the study of folk arts with other curriculum objectives. These units would use folk art as a vehicle not only for teaching concepts of tradition, process, and aesthetics, but also for teaching skills in reading, writing, listening, and speaking, and concepts in social sciences, natural sciences, mathematics, language, and physical education.

The course was structured to provide teachers with a conceptual and skills foundation for the development of the curricula. It introduced them to basic concepts in folklife studies and to examples in Cumberland County, and then assisted them in the preparation of a curriculum packet for a multiple-visit residency in which each of them would form a teaching team with a folk artist who had been identified during the field survey.

The course methodology adopted the methods and techniques of holistic education. As much as possible, Folklife in the Curriculum sought to structure experience into the study of concepts. It drew on the participants' own folklife and created for them experiences with folklife and folk artists. This allowed them to extrapolate folklife concepts and to gain first-hand acquaintance with local folklife, as well as to evaluate the educational possibilities of the activities. Underpinning these experiences were readings in folklife and education.

The fifteen-week course had a tripartite structure:

Estonian-Americans from the Seabrook community, (seated from left) Hilda Abel, Else Vilms, and Irina Torop, discuss their traditional arts with teachers Connie Schuchard and Mary Fisher. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

the first five weeks focused on folklife concepts, the second five on fieldwork, and the final five on curriculum development and presentation of the residency programs. (See course syllabus in "Program Materials" chapter.) These three topics were woven into activities throughout the course. For instance, before they formally pursued their own fieldwork, teachers were introduced to interviewing skills and techniques. They observed the folklorist during field trips with folk artists and practiced interviewing during the artists' visits to class. During the same events, they identified and observed folklife genres in context, and began developing ideas for curriculum applications for their own classes.

A variety of activities was used to develop concepts in folklife studies. First, class members were introduced to basic concepts by looking at their own experiences. They used a lengthy questionnaire on family and childhood to examine and then discuss their own cultural repertoires. They shared family narratives, family language, and family customs, noting where ethnicity, region, and occupation played a role. They drew "cognitive maps" of their childhood neighborhoods, identifying age-group and family concepts, customs, and beliefs. They labeled special places on a county map, recalling place names, legends, and personal experiences related to those places. They shared family foodways, explaining the context and history of each dish or practice to their classmates. "Shiloh potpie," collards and cornbread, noodle kugel, pasta e fagioli, golubki, and chocolate marshmallow Easter bunnies became lessons in folklife. (Marion Spense, who grew up on a farm, explained that this last item, a purchased, rather than a homemade, goody, had become a family tradition because Easter usually fell during the busy planting season.)

Then the students explored occupational folklife. Prior to a field trip to the Delaware Bay, they read articles on South Jersey folklife, the Delaware Bay oys-

Salt-hay farmer Ed Gibson leads teachers on a tour of his Delaware Bay salt-hay farm during the Folklife in the Curriculum course. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

tering industry, and the folkloristic methods of studying occupation. On the field trip they observed and recorded examples of folk technology, ethnoscientific understandings of the environment, occupational jargon and narrative, and regional artifacts. They met oyster planter Fenton Anderson in Bivalve and toured the *Martha Meerwald*. Fisherman Nerallen Hoffman described fishing seasons and demonstrated netmaking and use. At Turkey Point, salt-hay farmer Ed Gibson took the group out onto his meadows and showed them the system of dikes and drainage ditches that regulates and protects the growth of salt hay. In follow-up discussion, teachers identified ways that the observed information could be integrated into the teaching of math (net knitting), science (bay ecology), and language (local hero legends).

Techniques and problems in fieldwork and presentation were considered both through readings, such as Peter Bartis's *Folklife and Fieldwork*, and carefully measured practice. Before artists' visits to class, students were given tips on interviewing and asked to observe the folklorist during these events. Soon they joined in the interviews. During field trips, they learned to observe the environment to understand the artist better. Finally, they began the most important task of their project development—their own fieldwork with the artist with whom they chose to work. All the teachers met with their artist partners two or three

Olga Fogg (on right) shows teacher Karen Horwitz one of the many family-history quilts she has made. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Aboard his boat the *Martha Meerwald*, oyster planter Fenton Anderson explains to librarian Susan D'Ottavio how the iron dredge gathers oysters. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

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times before the residencies. During these visits, they gleaned understandings of the artists' lives, skills, and communities. They also gathered information and materials to prepare their students for the residencies. Then, each artist and teacher began to act as a team to plan the residency.

Curriculum development was integrated into every topic. Each time the class met an artist or went on a field trip, teachers looked for ways to integrate the topics into subject-area studies. In the brainstorming sessions that followed, they devised minilessons for these applications. They read articles and sample materials on the use of folklife in the classroom. They perused resource materials. They brought in materials they had used previously to share with others in the class. They considered various ways to construct a unit: holistically, in which several artists would visit and develop a well-rounded view of the culture integrated into all subject areas; thematically, in which a theme such as "immigration" or "domestic arts" would be examined with regard to folklife; or generically, in which a particular genre, such as folk instruments, would be studied cross-culturally with several visiting artists. Finally, each teacher identified a theme that had been derived from interviews with the artist. In conjunction with their curriculum requirements, they established general goals and subject-area objectives to be achieved through the unit of study. Then they planned the unit around a four-visit residency, constructing an overall unit plan, daily plans, and special activity materials with the help of the folk artist.

The residency programs were scheduled to fit into the last few weeks of the semester. Some teachers constructed extensive programs that lasted for many weeks and were coordinated with the activities of other teachers in the schools. Others developed a concentrated single-focus short-term program. But all of the programs created first-hand learning experiences in the company of the teaching tandem—folk artist and teacher.

Curriculum Development

Over twenty folk artists participated in the Cumberland program. In their personal histories they represent the cultural diversity of the region—African-American, Native American, Estonian, Japanese, English, Ukrainian, Italian, Irish, Swedish, Puerto Rican. They come from families that farmed, fished, oystered, worked in the glass and textile houses, hunted, trapped, ran small businesses, shucked oysters, crewed boats, built boats, entered professions. They are masters of verbal arts, painting, embroidery, cooking, singing, dancing, quilting, jewelry making, paperfolding, and more.

The twenty-three teachers who worked with them are also masters—in the art of teaching. They began with a good understanding of their students' needs, a strong sense of their mission as teachers, and an openness to folk artists as colleagues in the fulfillment of that mission. They found ways to combine their skills in teaching with the artists' skills in folk arts. Collectively, they created programs that would work for students in the primary grades through senior high, in subjects from art through library science through math, for groups of students from Educable Mentally Retarded (EMR) to Gifted and Talented.

Folk artists made valuable contributions to the planning process. They were, first of all, able to provide the cooperating teacher with a wealth of knowledge gained over the course of a lifetime, much of which is not available in books. Their personal experiences prompted creative ideas for presentation. (Taking a tip from woodsman Tom Brown, whose mother had kept him productively busy as a child, Karen Felmey had her EMR students make butter by rolling a jar of cream back and forth on the floor.) In addition to being resources themselves, the artists gave teachers access to places, materials, and people that could amplify the curriculum. Networks of friends, co-workers, and family were often drawn into the programs. (Irina To-

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Teacher Glenn Christmann and his students at the Main Road School in Franklin Township. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

rop and Muriel Brown accompanied their husbands to classes.) Field trips and visits with other group members were developed through these connections. (Fenton Anderson took Renee Ford's students on board his oyster boat, the *Martha Meerwald*.) Many folk artists brought to class personal collections of photographs and artifacts that served as tangible entryways to ideas. (Mariko Ono brought her wedding kimono to class.) Their tools, art, and souvenirs helped to reconstruct worlds otherwise unfamiliar to students.

In the classroom, the teaching tandem doubled the possibilities for successful learning events. Most artists were adept at working with the children, often using engagement as a management technique. Some served especially well as role models for students. Despite their different ethnic backgrounds, for instance, the Puerto Rican students of June Rone saw in Nina Kujdych a companion and model in the experience of cultural adaptation.

Most of the teachers involved in the program believe that active experiences create learning events. In a residency, "you're creating an experience for [students]," explains Ron Manno. That experience engages students and helps them understand and remember. Referring to his students' visit to the Corbin City Wildlife Refuge with Tom Brown, Manno explained: "Our going there was the 'real thing'—actually seeing and walking through the woods [with Brown]. He was showing us all the animal signs and things that the kids had never seen. You can read and see films about something, but it's not the same. It's not the same as experiencing it."

Said Andrea Manno of her program with Adalbert Torop: "Picture a character on a written page, coming alive." Teachers prepared their students for this effect by telling them about the artists and showing pictures they had taken of them.

As is the case in most learning situations in daily life, all participants in the residency were involved in both teaching and learning. As Andrea Manno put it, "I think Mr. Torop also was a student at times, learning from us, from the questions the students asked, what they wanted to share with him. . . . So we took turns, really, being teacher and being student." Ron Manno adds, "Many a time, *I* was the student with Tom!"

Residencies both highlighted existing community connections and created new ones. Tom Brown found that he knew the families of many of the students when the children began bringing him messages from their grandparents. Now he is often greeted on the street or in a store by youths who participated in the programs. As Joan Woodruff prepared for her program with Mariko Ono, she learned that two other employees of the Vineland School District were skilled in Japanese dance and martial arts. Renee Ford discovered that her mother knew Joe Gibbs from church choir visits, and Connie Schuchard found that another teacher in her school knew Gibbs because she had shucked oysters to earn money for college.

Other residencies validated local lifestyles. According to Patricia Cox, the residency "was valuable because [before then, the students] didn't think what they knew was important. They didn't think that . . . their way of life and culture were important." With Albert Reeves as resident artist during their study of New Jersey history, students saw their local culture validated by the school.

At the conclusion of each residency, teachers compiled their materials into curriculum packages. The variations in the structures of these materials reflect

Tom Brown explains his collection of arrowheads during his residency with students of Mary Fisher at the Downe Township Elementary School in Newport. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

the limitless variations in teaching styles. Each teacher developed the written version of the program in a way that was meaningful to her or him.

I begin with a brief review of the economic and demographic development of Cumberland County. Against that backdrop are placed the personal biographies of nine of the folk artists who participated in the Cumberland County FAIE. The artists are profiled in the context of their cultural communities. Their biographies show how intricately cultural skills are woven into personal experience, and personal experience is woven into community history. Each folk artist is at once both a unique, multifaceted individual and a representative of a broader cultural experience.

Following each biography is a separate section showing how programs were constructed with the artist. First, the teachers' goals are analyzed and their activities described. Then, one curriculum is offered in outline form, organized sequentially by topic and activity. The outlines were adapted from the curricula written by the teachers and were edited, with their approval, for consistent form. The chapter "Program Materials" presents some of the materials the teachers created.

These curriculum materials are intended more as a stimulus for ideas than as a blueprint for replication. Teachers report that they learn much from talking with other teachers. These pages may therefore "talk" to teachers and other educators about how to integrate local people and cultures into both the content and the structures of our educational systems.

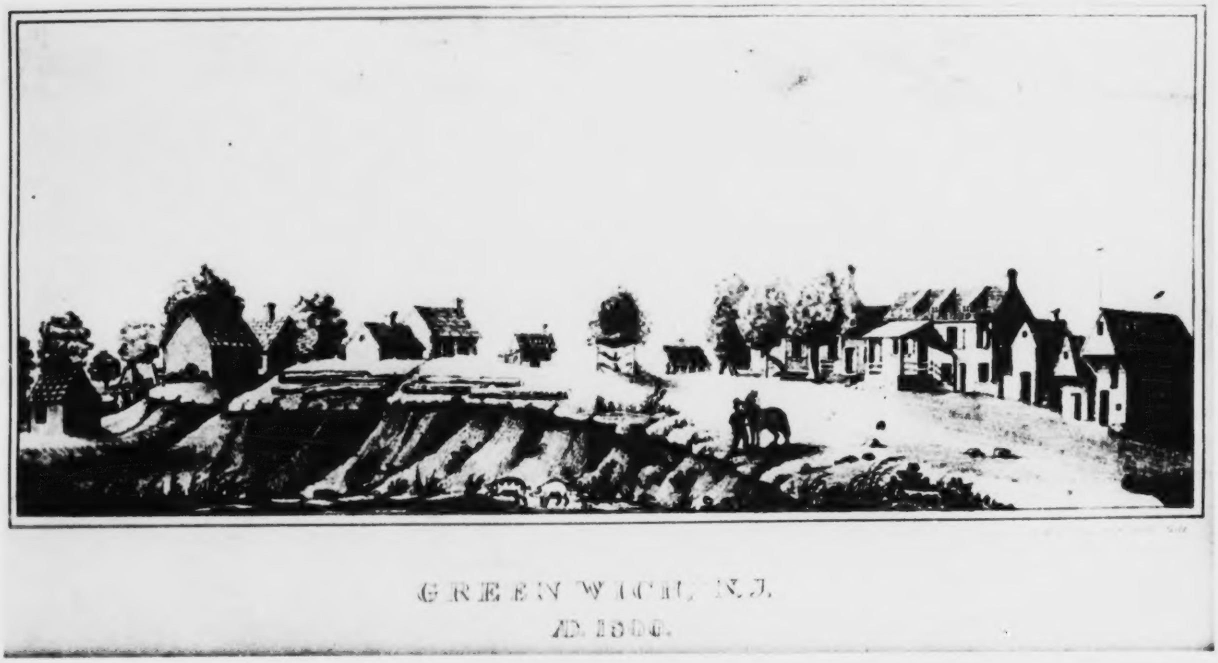
Background of Cumberland County

IT IS EASY to touch the past in Cumberland County, not just because the past is well preserved and reconstructed in places such as Greenwich and New Sweden, but because it is still a vital part of the present most everywhere. Although the availability of land and water influenced settlement, lifestyles, and industry throughout our country in the past, many places today are dramatically different because of technological change, immigration, and suburbanization. In Cumberland County, however, the use of land and water continues to influence lifestyles in a more traditional way.

In the years between 1673 and 1748, when Cumberland was known as "Cohansey" and was part of John Fenwick's colony, most settlements were located along the Cohansey and Maurice rivers. English, Swedish, and Dutch settlers were joined by New Englanders seeking a milder climate. These pioneers established small farms and used the rivers for transport.

Because of its proximity to the Cohansey, Greenwich was an important town well into the eighteenth century, when Bridgeton took over a pivotal role. Bridgeton began as "Cohansey Bridge" with the establishment of the first sawmill on the Cohansey in 1686, and grew as other mills produced lumber and meal. Eventually, industries developed there, and the town became the center of trade for the agricultural areas around it.

In 1748, Cumberland County was separated from Salem by an act of the General Assembly, and Bridgeton


GREENWICH, N.J.
AD. 1800.

Lithograph of the village of Greenwich on the banks of the Cohansey River in Greenwich Township, circa 1800. Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society.

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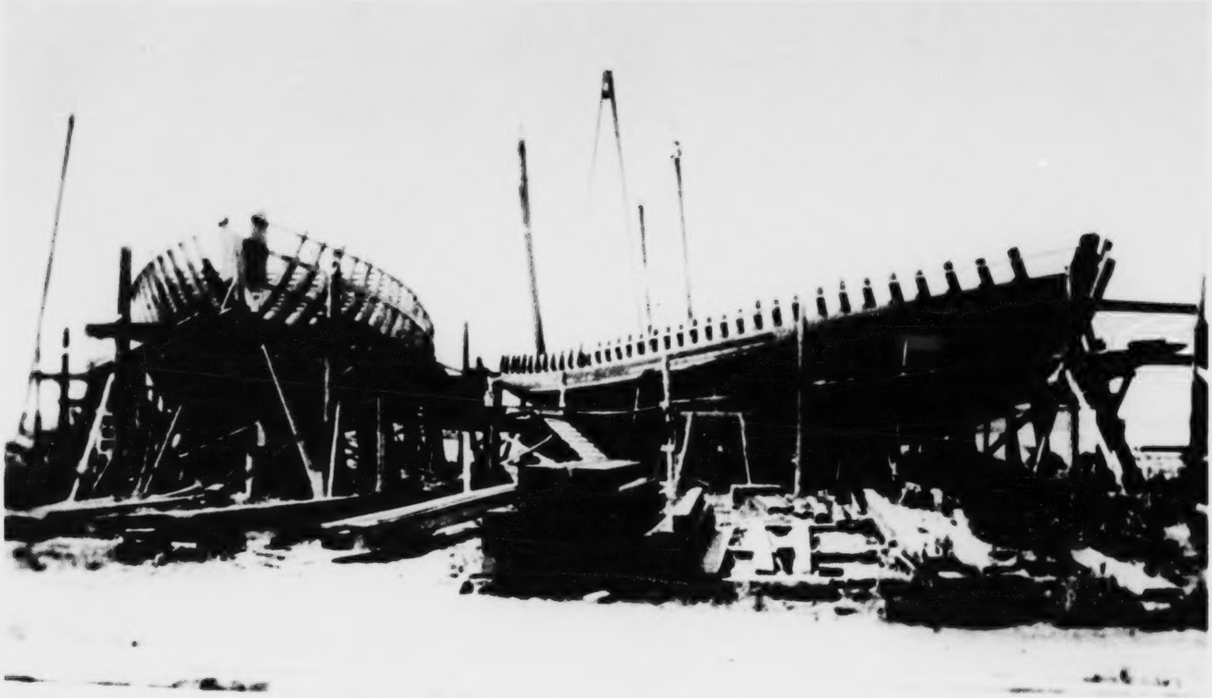

Schooners *J. Roberts Bateman* and *Ann E. Yates* (right) under construction at Parson's Shipyard in Greenwich, 1928. Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society.

was made the county seat. About the same time, the waters of the Maurice River, by driving numerous mills, powered the development of Millville.

The nineteenth century saw the rise of important industries. Shipyards at Leesburg, Dorchester, Mauricetown, and Greenwich produced sloops, coasting vessels, and schooners. Many of these vessels were produced for the oyster industry, which entered its commercial era in the early nineteenth century. The townships of Downe, Maurice River, and Commercial, in particular, prospered with the growth of oystering.

By the mid-nineteenth century, many factories were producing window glass and other glassware. Millville boomed, and life there was shaped by the glass industry. Almost every family had at least one member working in a glass house. Neighborhoods and social hierarchies reflected the echelons of glassmaking, with skilled glassblowers and their families near the top.

Soon, paper and fabric mills, pottery plants, building-materials factories, and machine shops were attracting European immigrants and contributing to the growth of the cities. During the same period, the grand projects of visionaries and the opening of the railroads stimulated agriculture throughout the area and contributed to the diversification of the populace.

In 1861, Charles Landis bought seventy-six square miles of sandy acreage in the northeastern portion of the county. He envisioned Landis Township as an agricultural utopia—an area of vegetable, fruit, and berry farms with a city of spacious streets at its center. He divided the area into five- and ten-acre lots outside a city he named Vineland and set about recruiting what he thought would be the most suitable residents for the township—"thrifty, intelligent" New Englanders for the city, and "skilled Italians" for the farms. Eventually, industries producing glass, clothing, paint, paper, and canned foods grew in Vineland, and produce farms and orchards thrived around it.

In 1882, another group of immigrants brought their vision of religious freedom to the area just west of Lan-

In the grinding shop at the T.C. Wheaton Glass Company, women tie bottle stoppers to bottles, circa 1900. Courtesy of Wheaton Museum of American Glass.

dis's township. They were Jewish refugees fleeing the pogroms of czarist Russia. They hoped to build a new life close to the land in the colony they called Alliance. Though most of them had never farmed before, they labored resolutely on their small farms, and eventually the towns of Carmel, Rosenhayn, Norma, and Brotmanville sprouted in the area of Deerfield Township. These immigrants also brought industry to the area, as they opened cigar, clothing, and canning factories to supplement their farm income.

Before the railroad came to Cumberland in the 1860s, the farms in the highly agricultural western part of the county had typically used most of what they had produced: dairy products, meat, grain, fruits, and vegetables. With markets in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore now within a day's travel, farms throughout the county began to grow more fruits and vegetables. Produce auctions were started to facilitate sales and distribution, and canning factories opened to process the crops.

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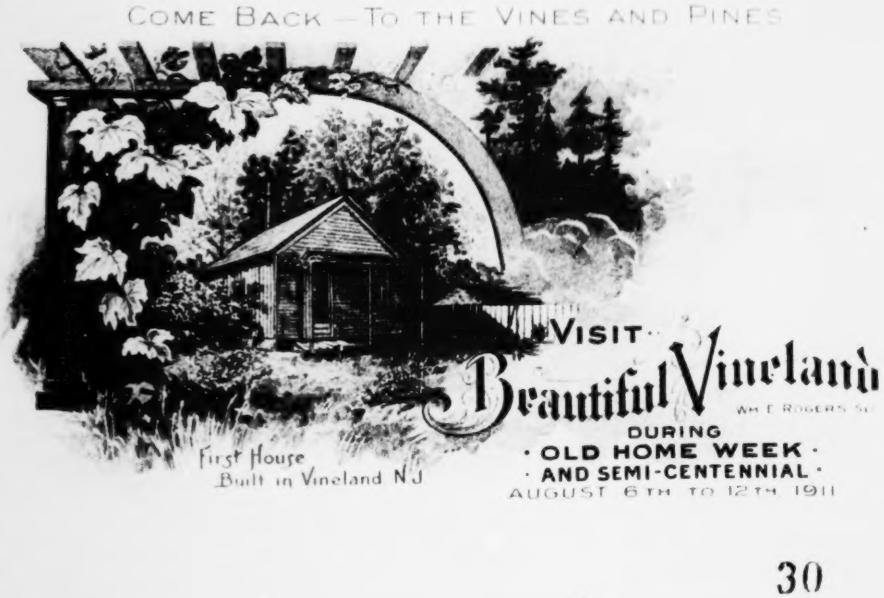
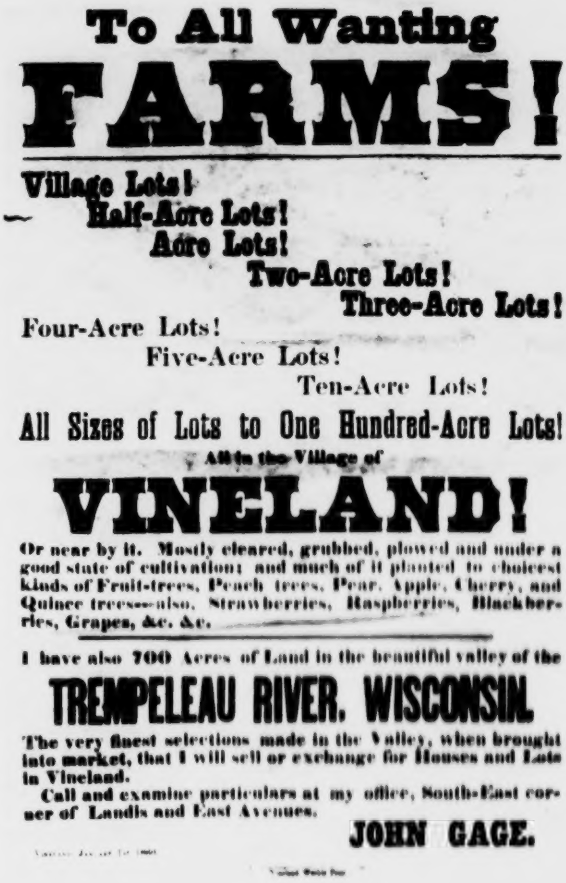
The workers of William L. Stevens and Brothers Can House in Cedarville, circa 1888. Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society.


COME BACK — TO THE VINES AND PINES
First House
Built in Vineland N.J.
VISIT
Beautiful Vineland
WM. E. ROGERS SC
DURING
· OLD HOME WEEK ·
· AND SEMI-CENTENNIAL ·
AUGUST 6TH TO 12TH 1911

Publicity poster. Courtesy of Vineland Historical Society.

In the first half of the twentieth century, agriculture diversified further. In the twenties, a new wave of Jewish refugees introduced poultry farming to the region. In the same decade, Charles F. Seabrook began developing what was to become one of the first agribusinesses of the freezer era. At first he employed African-Americans and southerners, but after 1944, Japanese-Americans from the internment camps of the western states and Eastern Europeans from displaced persons camps in Europe came to work for him and settled in the area.

For more than a century, the seasonal nature of oystering brought tides of immigrants in and out of the area. Crews of southerners and Scandinavians followed the oyster harvest up the coast from Florida to Maryland to New Jersey and then on to New York. Irishmen and Germans came from Philadelphia. Port Norris sailed into the twentieth century calling itself "the



To All Wanting

FARMS!

Village Lots!
Half-Acre Lots!
Acre Lots!
Two-Acre Lots!
Three-Acre Lots!
Four-Acre Lots!
Five-Acre Lots!
Ten-Acre Lots!

All Sizes of Lots to One Hundred-Acre Lots!

All in the Village of

VINELAND!

Or near by it. Mostly cleared, grubbed, plowed and under a good state of cultivation; and much of it planted to choicest kinds of Fruit-trees, Peach trees, Pear, Apple, Cherry, and Quince trees—also, Strawberries, Raspberries, Blackberries, Grapes, &c. &c.

I have also 700 Acres of Land in the beautiful valley of the

TREMPELEAU RIVER, WISCONSIN.

The very finest selections made in the Valley, when brought into market, that I will sell or exchange for Houses and Lots in Vineland.

Call and examine particulars at my office, South-East corner of Landis and East Avenues.

JOHN GAGE.

Poster advertising village and farm lots for sale in Vineland in 1866. Courtesy of the Vineland Historical Society.

The Oberlin Smith residence and the Ferracute Machine Company on the Cohansey River in Bridgeton, circa 1900. Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society.

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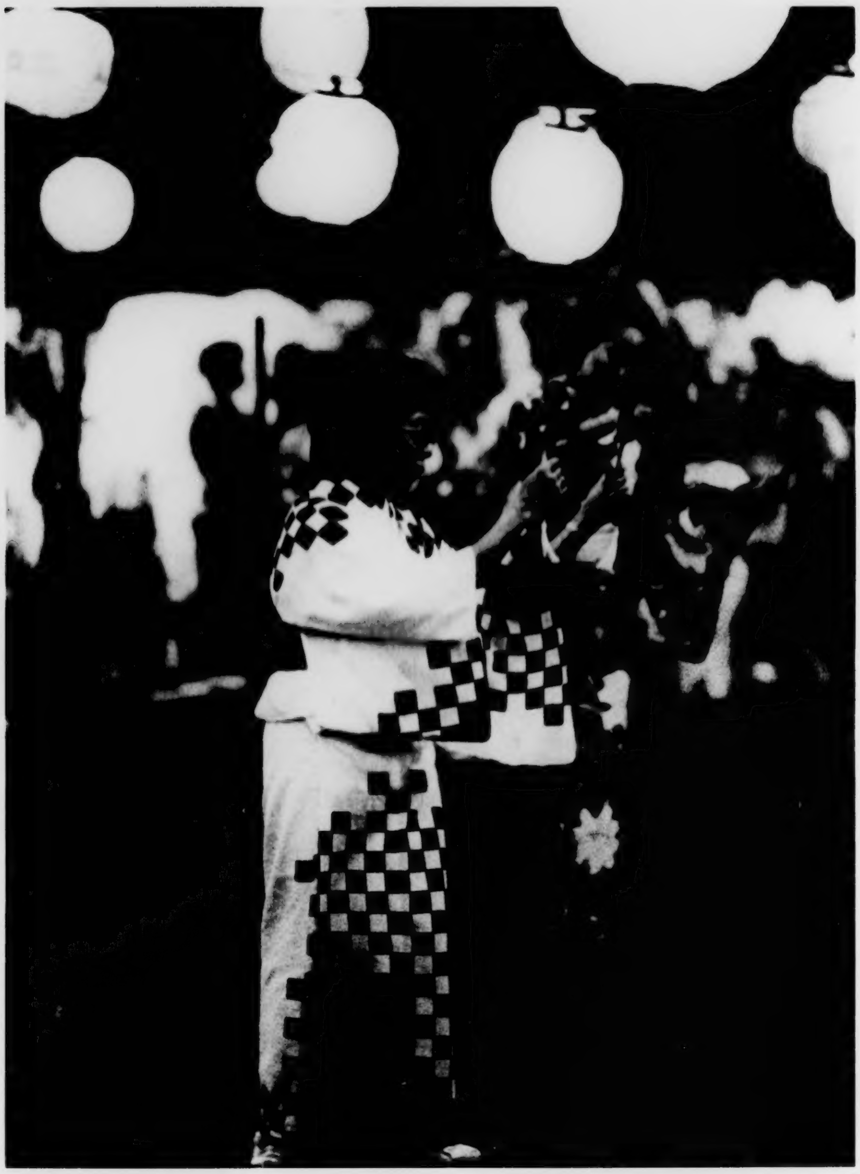
Guillermo Aldino and Ramona Perez dance the plena, a traditional Puerto Rican dance, during the San Juan Bautista Day celebration at Casa Prac in Vineland. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Oyster Capital of the World," and claiming that "the whole world meets in Bivalve," as railroads and refrigeration expanded markets. In those decades, the industry boasted annual sales of over five million dollars and employed several thousand people during the spring "planting" season. In the twenties, shucking houses opened, and brought African-Americans from the Chesapeake to reside in areas such as Shellpile.

Thus, the county entered the modern era economically healthy and culturally diverse, but, by turns, major industries fell on hard times. The development of new glassmaking technologies after the turn of the century soon left the older factories of the area behind, and many closed. By mid-century, textile mills and poultry farms had lost business to less expensive operations in the South. In 1957, the Delaware Bay oyster beds were devastated by a parasitic infestation. After the death of its founder, Seabrook Farms was broken up and sold. As land values and labor costs rose, many small farmers sold out. With the future of agriculture in the area uncertain, canneries moved out rather than update older machinery. Many people left the county in search of jobs.

Today, the county continues to change. Suburbs grow to accommodate commuters who work in Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Atlantic City. Older towns such as Bridgeton and Mauricetown refurbish and use their historic resources to develop tourism. The Spanish-speaking population grows as migrant workers settle and form communities in Vineland. New service-oriented businesses open and new groups settle. Yet many of the old pursuits and traditions survive—glass is still made, crops still grown, fish still caught. Buddhist, Orthodox, Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic congregations still gather. Ethnic groups still celebrate special holidays, and, in all of these settings, folk artists bring the past into the present, link the old and the new.



Sunkie Oye with the Seabrook Minyo Troupe at the annual Obon Festival at Seabrook Buddhist Church. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Sunkie Oye

Japanese-American Folk Dancer

IN HER LIFETIME, Sunkie Oye has experienced in two quite different ways the impact of the conservation of traditional arts. As a young girl in Salinas, California, she saw how her family's cultivation of Japanese traditional dance and martial arts increased the wartime government's suspicion of her family. In more recent years, she has helped develop a "minyo" (folk) dance group,

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which allows Japanese-Americans in Cumberland County to preserve and express their ancient heritage and contribute to the rich, multicultural heritage of America.

The power of folk arts to bolster group unity and cultural identity has been recognized by many nations in modern history, and governments have both encouraged and suppressed those arts to serve their own aims. In Hitler's Germany, propagandists drew on—and redrew—mythical tales and figures to support the notion of a super race and to spread the fervor of nationalism. In the Soviet Socialist Republics, authorities banned the practice of folk traditions to quash the resistance of Ukrainian and Baltic nations to russification and communization. In the United States, Yankee images have been employed to engender patriotic fervor, especially in wartime. Conversely, generations of immigrants have abandoned or sequestered their folk traditions to avoid the social and economic isolation that being different often brings. Only since the rise of the Civil Rights movement and the rethinking of the melting pot theory has the public display of ethnic traditions and identity become widespread. Even so, hosts of newcomers still often experience scorn and suspicion of their native ways. These emblems of identity are indeed powerful.

To a great degree, the presence of the Japanese-American community in Cumberland County is a result of the tragically false equation of the wartime American government: that cultural identity indicates political alignment. Japanese-Americans living on the West Coast were interned during World War II, and most of the families in the area originally came to the county from the internment camps.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, great numbers of Japanese and Chinese settled in the western coastal states. Usually they kept ties with their native land, sometimes traveling home for their education or to get married and then returning to the United States. By the time of World War II, there were many second- and third-generation Japanese-American families in California. They were a vital part of the economy and generally quite community spirited, with regard to both their ethnic community and the community-at-large.

However, after the bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941, their civic-mindedness was overlooked and their cultural differences were focused upon. Despite the fact that many of them had never even been to Japan, the government questioned their loyalty to America and pronounced their presence on the West Coast, near the Pacific war theater, a threat to national security. In February 1942, President Roosevelt signed an order to intern all of the approximately 120,000 Japanese and Japanese-Americans on the West Coast in relocation camps scattered in Arizona, Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, Arkansas, and Texas.

Families were given short notice of their removal to the camps. Most had to sell their businesses and belongings for a fraction of their value. Some tried to store things in boarded-up homes; others left their belongings in the care of neighbors. But when they were released in 1943, 1944, and 1945, few were able to retrieve any of their property. Banks foreclosed on businesses and homes; vandals and even neighbors scavenged belongings.

Most of the camps to which the internees were taken were not equipped to house families and communities, and the internees organized themselves to create a semblance of normal life. Schools were opened, activities set up, building projects carried out.

Many, eager to prove their loyalty, worked for the war effort, making parachutes and military uniforms. In 1942, two thousand internees volunteered for a special segregated Japanese-American regiment that later garnered great honor for its operations in Europe.

Finally, in 1942, the government allowed those who passed a loyalty test to leave the camps, but they were forbidden to return to the West Coast until after 1944. With few resources, many families searched for work in the East.

At about this time, the Seabrook Farms vegetable processing and preservation operation was expanding. Established in Upper Deerfield Township in 1928 by Charles F. Seabrook, Seabrook Farms reached its peak in the forties and fifties, holding nineteen thousand acres and leasing forty thousand more, and employing as many as four thousand workers. Before its decline in the seventies, Seabrook Farms would pioneer the frozen food industry.

Looking for a way to solve the labor shortage brought on by the war, Seabrook came up with a plan that also helped the homeless internees. He invited Japanese-American internees to join the operation as pickers and packers for a wage of about sixty cents an hour. He offered them free rent, lunch, and utilities for six months, in exchange for a promise to remain for six months. The offer was advertised around the country, and after a delegation of internees visited the facilities and judged them acceptable, Japanese-Americans from camps around the country poured in, eventually numbering three thousand. After the war, they were joined by refugees from Eastern Europe, especially the Baltic states of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia, as well as by Russians, Poles, and Germans.

The establishment of the Seabrook Buddhist Church in 1945 signaled the founding of a community. As gardens blossomed in the small yards around the barracks, the Japanese-American community rerooted itself, carrying on

Hoover Village annex housing at Seabrook, 1948. Such buildings served as homes for the workers who came to Seabrook from World War II Japanese relocation camps in the West and displaced persons camps in Europe. From the Nakai Family Photograph Collection. Courtesy of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies Library.

the traditional values that had characterized it in the West. Respect for family, education, and culture nourished the new generation and community. The Japanese-American Citizens League spearheaded civic projects. Many families eventually opened businesses and bought homes. Children entered professions. By the time Seabrook Farms closed in 1981, many families had moved, but even today, the traditional Obon Festival at the Buddhist Church brings them back to Seabrook to celebrate ancestral ties. At that festival, the dancing is led by Sunkie Oye.

The story of Oye's life provides us with a closer reading of the community experience. Her father, Ryusuke Tazumi, arrived in California in 1906 as a boy of fourteen. Even though the family farm in southern Japan was prosperous, the country was too small for a boy of such adventurous spirit. He convinced his parents to allow him to go to the United States, where he lived with another family for four years while attending school. At twenty-five, he went back to Japan, married Hisano Hamachi, and returned to California.

For several years, the young couple worked on a farm. It was a hard life:

Mother says they got up at four in the morning, and she would ride on the bicycle handle with him, and they'd go out in the fields and pick beans until the sun came up. Then they'd go to another farm to do other work. It was only like ten cents an hour at the time. And so then he decided, "We're going to move into town and find a business to start. . . ." So that's where we were born—in Salinas, California.

The business started as a little corner variety shop, but eventually became a large dry goods store. The family lived above the business in a home with a roof garden lush with bonsai and two thousand pots of chrysanthemums. All of it was carefully shaped by Ryusuke, even the pots for the flowers. "Every year, in October, my father would invite the townspeople and have a flower show, and he would serve raw fish and sushi. He would invite the mayor and the bank president, and they all came over and enjoyed it. And yet, when the war came . . ."

There were many Japanese families in Salinas, and children like Oye became bicultural. She attended the public school, and her participation in extracurricular activities often occupied her after school. But on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, she attended Japanese school from 4:30 until 6:00, learning to read and write the language of her forebears and to live according to ancient values of self-discipline, respect for elders, and love of beauty.

Traditional arts were an important part of Oye's cultural education. Some of them, such as origami (paper folding), and "ikebana" (flower arranging), she learned at home. Others, such as how to play the "shamisen," the three-stringed Japanese instrument, she learned in formal training.

In retrospect, Oye sees her weekly classes in Japanese classical dance as a significant aspect of her cultural development and as an example of her father's attempt to raise his children to be good Japanese-Americans. Oye liked every kind of sport, and excelled in several as a high school student. "Dad was all for it, but on the other hand, he said, 'You should learn Japanese dancing.'" The highly disciplined, graceful form would, he thought, help his daughter to be ladylike.

Even though she often would rather have played than practice dancing, Oye, over ten years of study and performance, became an expert in classical dance. Her troupe, Hikari, was so skillful that it was asked to perform throughout the state for events such as weddings. The dancers traveled by truck, hauling the elaborate costumes and wigs, props, and lighting that were used in the highly theatrical performances. Her father served as master of ceremonies.

In Japanese classical dance, the teacher bestows a special name on a pupil when the student reaches a level of excellence. That name also represents a dancer's passage to the role of teacher. Before the war began, Oye's father had hoped to send her to Japan to complete her training and receive her formal name. In 1940, her brother had gone there to learn martial arts. The study of traditional arts would help his children learn discipline, her father felt.

But to the authorities, who had compiled a volume on the family's activities, study of the traditional arts implied subversion. Did her brother learn Kendo to help Japan fight, they asked. And why did Oye study classical dance?

The answers really didn't make any difference, for all Japanese-Americans on the West Coast had become suspects once the Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor.

The war started December 7, 1941, and in March 1942, when we were in school, my mother called, crying, and I said, "What's the matter?" She says, "Well, they're going to take Dad away." I said, "Take Dad away where?" She said she didn't know, but they're after him and come on home. So I remember running home, and these two deputies were there. They were actually car salesmen who were deputized. But we had bought a new Oldsmobile from them, and then here are these two guys trying to, you know, take my dad. And they were very mean, nasty, you know? 'Cause when I came home, I said, "Gee, why are you taking my father?" And they said, "You better shut up, girl. We'll take you in jail, too"—that attitude. And I thought, "Oh, my God!" And my dad said, "Be quiet! Don't say anything. It's all right. It's all right."

And my father did tell them he was diabetic and he needed insulin. And they wouldn't even let him take it with him. The only thing they did was let him change into a suit. He said, "Well, can I change to my suit?" So they watched over him while he changed. Before they did that, they ransacked the whole house. It was terrible. They went into my bedroom—the closets—the clothes were thrown all over, the sheets, the bedclothes. The mattress was turned over! I don't know what they were looking for. But all our bedrooms were like that. And then, Dad says, "Well, then, that's OK. *Don't worry about it. I'm sure everything will be cleared up. I didn't do anything wrong." The only thing was, that he was a town leader, representing Japanese. Every time there was a Red Cross drive or hospital drive, or anything for the community, he was the leader. He always went around and gathered money for the fund, and he was a spokesman. So he was the one to be taken. That's what they did when the war started. So then I said, "Yeah,* OK, *. . . but he needs his insulin." And the guy says, "No, he can't take anything. Nothing!" So then they took him in a car and left, and we didn't even know where he was taken for a whole week. And I said "My Dad needs his insulin." I called the county jail. I called the courthouse and all. And they said they didn't know. They don't have anyone like that here.*

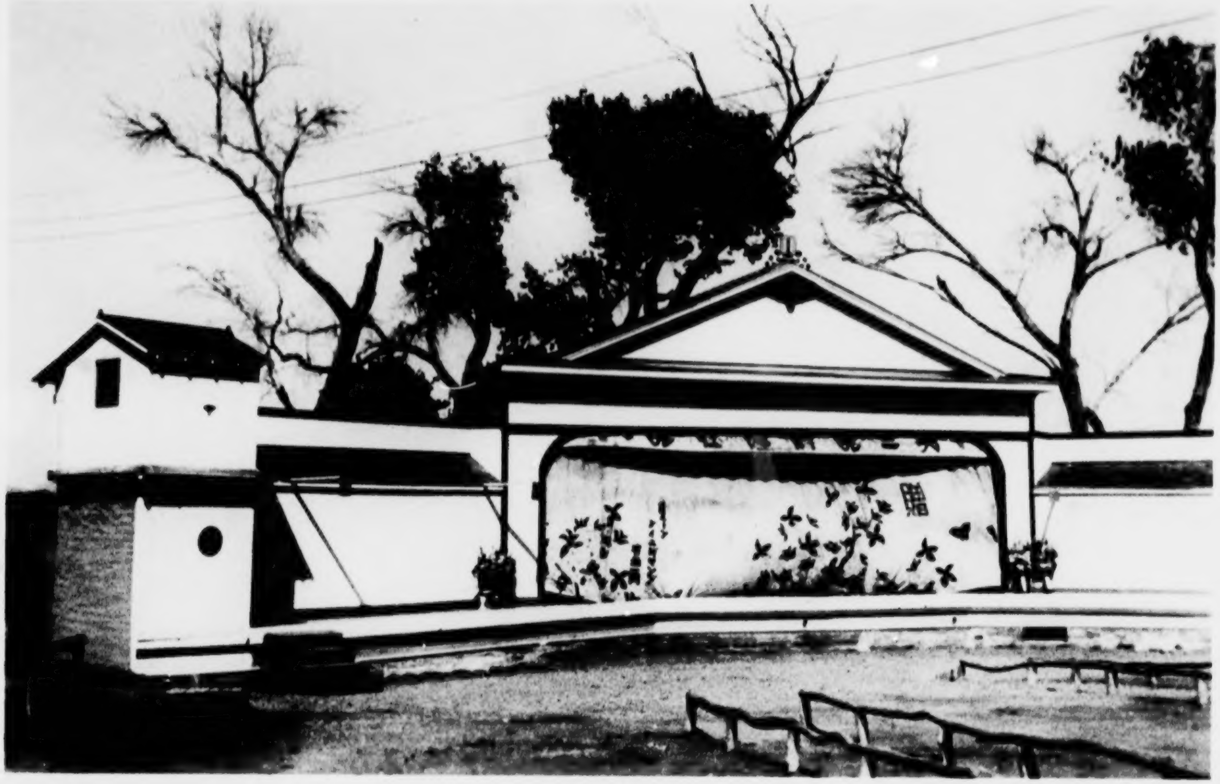
Eventually, the family was informed that Ryusuke was in an Office of Immigration hospital in San Francisco. Her mother did not speak English well, and so, at the age of seventeen, Oye quickly became an adult. She acquired government permission to travel the hundred miles from Salinas to San Francisco to see her father. For three weeks after that, however, the family didn't know that he had been moved to a camp in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

At the end of April, they moved to the designated white zone (an area of

A postcard in the Nakai Family Photograph Collection at the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies Library carries a picture of the relocation camp in Poston, Arizona, and a verse written by inmate Tom T. Sakai. Courtesy of the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies Library.

inland California where Japanese-Americans could move around freely for a few months) in Visalia, California, in hopes that the whole family would soon be allowed to go home to Salinas. Oye and her mother worked picking fruit until the end of July, when they were told that they were being sent not home, but to a camp. Still hoping that they'd eventually be able to resume their life in Salinas, they sold many of their possessions, stored others in a room of their home, and boarded up the whole place. They turned over the care of their business to their attorney, and reported to the Visalia train station with only the few things they could carry. They would never again see the things they left behind.

At the station, they each received a number and boarded a train, its windows covered, that took them to Arizona. There they were met by army trucks that took them to the Poston Two camp, a collection of barracks ill-prepared for the approximately five thousand internees who would eventually be housed



Amphitheater, at the Poston, Arizona, relocation camp, designed by Sunkie Oye's father, Ryusuke Tazumi, in 1943; he also made the props and painted the stage curtain. Biweekly programs of music, dance, and drama were presented there by the camp residents. Photograph courtesy of Sunkie Oye.

there. Each person received a cot and blanket for the first night. The next day, they were given canvas sacks which they filled with hay to serve as mattresses.

The internees quickly set about creating the things they needed to make a life. "Every able-bodied person had to help make an adobe school. . . . This was already September, and we all went out and we mixed mud with hay." They cut down cottonwood trees and stacked the logs to make a swimming pool for the children to help relieve the desert heat. They requested pipes and laid them to the Colorado River, bringing water back to irrigate fields of cabbage and spinach that supplemented the unfamiliar camp diet of goat meat, brains, and hominy.

Oye's father was finally allowed to rejoin his family in January, after a ten-month separation. He, too, worked hard to humanize the harsh living conditions. Soon,

it didn't seem like a desert anymore. . . . My father put morning glories to cover

40

up most of our barracks. It looked like a house. And he put trellises up so that the plants would grow up, and by the time we left, the place didn't even look like barracks. It was all covered up by flowers.

He also designed and helped build an amphitheater, at which biweekly programs of music, dance, and drama were presented by the camp residents.

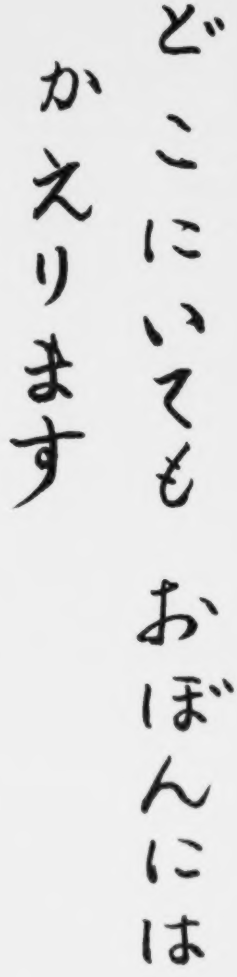
In 1944, they were told they could leave the camp, but could not return to California. Two young women who had taught at the camp school suggested that Oye and four other girls accompany them to Philadelphia. Oye agreed, and she and her brother went to that city, and her parents went to Cleveland, Ohio.

In Philadelphia, she at first lived at a hostel run by the American Red Cross. For two dollars a day and a share of the household chores, young internees could have a home while they looked for work and a place to settle. Oye got a clerical job and moved in with a wealthy family for whom she babysat and did chores. But this arrangement left little time for the business schooling she hoped to get. After six months, the owner of the Kikushima Restaurant on Spruce Street told Oye and three other girls that they could live rent free in an apartment above the restaurant if they would take turns working in the restaurant. It was the perfect solution, and Oye got to attend business classes at night.

Sunkie married Ted Tetsuye Oye in 1947. When they moved to Vineland in 1953, it was time for her children to become familiar with their cultural heritage. They joined the Seabrook Buddhist Church, and gradually Oye's role as community educator grew.

There is a saying in Japanese, Oye says, that "no matter where you are during the year, at Obon time you should go home." ("Doko ni ite mo Obon niwa kaerimasu.") The saying helps to explain the centrality of the Obon Festival in Japanese-American culture. Although it derives from Buddhist belief, Obon serves as a cultural homecoming to Japanese-Americans of all faiths. The festival at Seabrook, which takes place in mid-July, draws visitors from the entire East Coast. Oye explains its legendary roots:

Legend has it that there was a disciple [of Shakyamuni Buddha], Mogallana, whose mother died, and while he was meditating, he saw that his mother was in hell, and starving. And the disciple Mogallana said, "How come Mother is starving? She's drinking water and it's turning to fire. She's crying. She's begging for food." So he goes to Buddha, and he tells him, "How come my mother is starving? She was a good mother. She did everything for me. She fed me. She clothed me. And yet, after her death, she's starving." So the Buddha said, "Your mother did everything for you, regardless of what she was doing for other people. She would take things from other people just to keep you happy. She did all this. She sinned—for you. And that's why she's starving. The only way for you to help her,


どこにいても　おぼんには
かえります

"No matter where you are during the year, at Obon time you should go home." Calligraphy by Mariko Ono.

for salvation, is for you to meditate, get a lot of food, and give it to all the poor people, and share your wealth. Share your food." So that's what he did. And then when he sat and meditated, he saw his mother come up, and she was able to eat again and looked happy. So Obon, the legend, says that because he saw this, he danced for joy, and had everybody *dance with joy. This is the legend. So this is how it started, and that's why dancing is so important to Obon.*

Two important goals of the festival are to reflect on and to express thanksgiving for one's gifts in life:

That's the time when we reflect on the past and are grateful for what everyone did for us. Our parents, who made the food. The farmers, who grew the food so we could buy the food. The employers who hired us so that we could work to get money to buy food and clothing. The clothing that was made at the factory, but before it got to the factory, so many hands were involved in making it.

These values are expressed in a variety of services and events. During one service, church members ceremonially present homegrown vegetables and then pass them around to be shared. In another, they place flowers and food at grave sites to show gratitude to forebears. And finally, their expressions culminate in the joyful dancing of the Obon Festival.

This dancing is not as structured as either classical dance or minyo dance. Everyone is invited to join in. Yet practicing for the dancing has always been a part of Obon preparations. When Oye was a teenager in Salinas, she and four other girls would first practice with one minister who was an especially good dancer, and then the girls would meet three times a week for four weeks to teach community members the dancing.

In the early years of the Seabrook community, a teacher came annually from New York to help the church members practice for Obon. When Oye moved to Vineland, old friends from Salinas, remembering her skill, encouraged her to begin teaching. Despite some initial hesitation, she took on the responsibility and eventually arranged for a Japanese master to visit the group every year before Obon to conduct two days of workshops. Oye picks up from there. The Seabrook Minyo Group grew from these roots; today its skill is widely recognized.

Although Oye credits her training in classical dance with giving her skills useful for minyo, she points out their great differences. Classical dance is individual and innovative, each dance created by an artist. Minyo is traditional and collective; each district of Japan has its own historic minyo and maintains distinct elements of it over time. Classical dance often has no rhythm. Minyo is based on rhythm.

Yet minyo has changed and adapted to the cultural life of Japanese-Americans. Oye points out that

> *in Japan, when they have Obon or . . . minyo dancing, they only do one dance for the whole night. They do one dance where everybody joins in. But here, it's monotonous for us! You know, we like variety. And for those who are watching it's monotonous, too. I guess in that way, we're* Americans! *We want variety.*

The Seabrook troupe not only performs historic minyos from different areas, but to introduce variety, chooses music that is a bit faster or more modern. Sometimes it changes a step to go along with the music. Another change Oye has observed shows how culture is like a language. The younger generations, she says, have more difficulty with the more complex dances because they can't "hear" them: "They don't have the hearing that we have. . . . I guess it's because we have Japanese parents that we could hear it, like our children could hear it, 'cause their grandparents were Japanese." When she taught her daughter and her peers, they had heard Japanese at home, and after she explained the dance and the words, "they'd have a little feeling for it, so it wasn't hard for them."

> *See, in dancing—in American dancing, too—you have to put your feeling in it. You can't just do the motions. But if you can understand the Japanese language, and you hear the music, the wording . . . then your feeling goes into the dance. It shows. Whereas, the young ones coming up, they don't know the music at all. They're just going by the rhythm. So the feeling is not in the dancing. Whereas, for the older people, they can understand the music, so the feeling gets in.*

As older generations see change in their culture, they often have a sense of loss. Yet the evolved forms continue to have meaning for younger generations. Every year, as many as fifty people come out for the six nights of practice before Obon. Caucasians who have married Japanese-Americans bring their children. They want them to understand what they come from.

And the Seabrook Minyo Group thrives. It rehearses several times a month year round, and its reputation has garnered invitations to perform at the Smithsonian, the Washington, D.C., Cherry Blossom Festival, and the New York Obon Festival, among others. Whether the group is performing for its own Japanese-American community who already understand, or for an audience of Americans for whom she must explain the dances, Oye takes great satisfaction from her role. It reaffirms the long-held values that resound in Japanese culture and in the Obon Festival. "I feel that I owe it to my parents for all that they did for me. I think I should pass on to the people that we do have a wonderful culture. As I get older, I feel more that way."

Sunkie Oye's story and sentiments represent those of many other Japanese-Americans from the Seabrook community. Fusaye Kazaoka also grew up in Salinas, California, and came to Seabrook after being interned in a camp in Arizona. The family of the late Mary Nagao came to the county from the Manzanar camp in California. Mariko Ono, on the other hand, came to Seabrook more recently from New York, where she had moved to teach ikebana. Her husband's family had lived at Seabrook, and now her artistry has given added vigor to the community's goals of conserving traditional culture and encouraging intercultural respect. Participating in the FAIE program was one way for the four women to further those goals. The four teachers who worked with them used their presentations of Japanese culture to help students understand the value of their own and others' traditions. In addition, they used the residencies to achieve other widely diverse curricular goals.

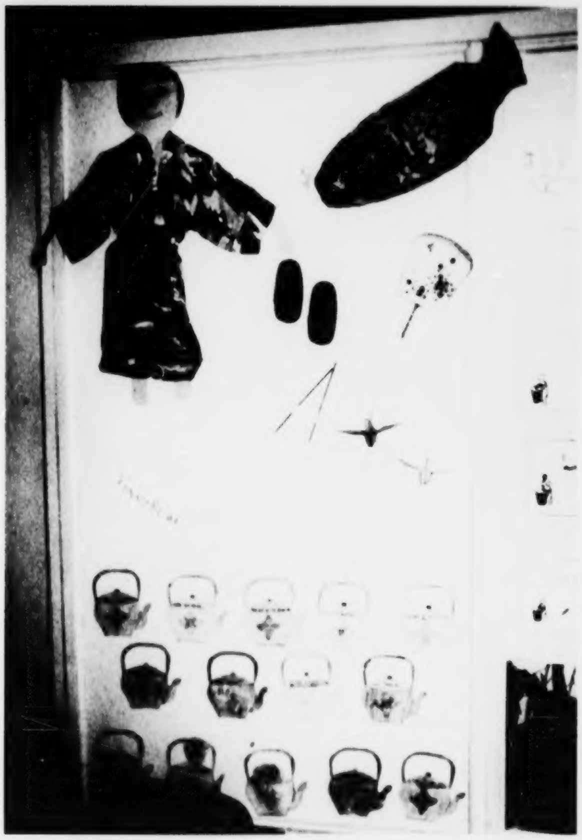
ESL (English as a Second Language) teachers Carmen Garcia and Joan Woodruff developed programs that would provide many concrete experiences for the practice of English skills. They built reading, writing, and speaking activities around events in the residency.

In her residency with Woodruff's third graders at the Dane Barse School in Vineland, Ono presented many Japanese artifacts to stimulate communication. She brought in her wedding kimono and demonstrated how it is worn. She prepared agar-agar, a jellied Japanese sweet. She helped the children create origami figures and calligraphic paintings.

Woodruff built lessons in verb tense into those visits. For instance, before the first visit, each child wrote a paragraph in future tense about the upcoming activities. Following the visit, the students revised those paragraphs into past tense. The class formulated interview questions in English for Ono, and later invited students from other classes to hear their oral presentations of what they had learned. Before Sunkie Oye visited the class to teach Japanese dance, the children read handouts about minyo dance.

To help her Hispanic students develop an appreciation of their own bilingualism, Woodruff included lessons in Japanese vocabulary. She reinforced the oral study with vivid images. Bulletin boards displayed Japanese artifacts—a kimono, "geta" (wooden sandals), tea pots, and origami figures—all identified with English, Spanish, and Japanese names.

Carmen Garcia, who worked with Fusaye Kazaoka felt that Japanese-American culture could provide a model of cultural conservation for her Puerto Rican students to learn from. Japanese culture, she said, combines the past, present, and future. "We must not lose our traditions," she said, "but must mingle the old and the new, as the Japanese do."



Bulletin board display in Joan Woodruff's classroom at the Dane Barse Elementary School in Vineland features Japanese artifacts and vocabulary for Woodruff's primary English as a Second Language (ESL) students. At the right, Fusaye Kazaoka dresses Evelyn Aponte in a traditional kimono during Kazaoka's residency with Carmen Garcia's students at Cunningham Elementary School in Vineland. Photographs by Rita Moonsammy.

To implement this goal, Garcia concluded the unit of study with a performance by Los Pleneros de Camden, a group led by Juan Dones, who play traditional "plena" music.

For art teacher Marion Spense, the study of Japanese aesthetics in different genres and media was a way for her art students at Bridgeton High School to investigate principles of design. Mary Nagao explained the elements of composition in Japanese foodways. Mariko Ono demonstrated the various styles of composition of the Songetsu school of ikebana. The students practiced these

The late Mary Nagao answers a student's questions after a demonstration of Japanese cooking during her residency with Robert Felmey's tenth-grade students at Bridgeton High School. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

genres, then applied the principles to their own creations in woodblock and acrylic paintings.

Louise Karwowski wanted her sixth-grade social studies students at Landis Middle School in Vineland to learn about cultural processes and their impact nationally, locally, and personally. With Sunkie Oye, she designed a curriculum that coupled studies of Japanese and Japanese-American culture with documentation of the students' family folklife. The students were thus able to grasp concepts such as acculturation and to develop an appreciation for cultural differences, including their own.

Karwowski introduced her students to the effects of cultural contact by discussing their breakfasts. Together, the class compiled a list of the foods and implements that are usually on the table at an American breakfast. Then Karwowski explained the origins of each. For example:

Orange juice: oranges first grown along Eastern Mediterranean
Sugar: first made in India
Waffles: created by Scandinavians
Maple syrup: first made by Eastern Woodland Indians
Bacon: pigs first domesticated by Asians; smoking of meats developed by northern Europeans.

She went on to discuss with her class the various ways that cultures interact, from cultural sharing to cultural conflict. The class then considered evidence of acculturation in its own city, citing restaurants, clubs, stores, and music as ways that elements of many nationalities have become part of mainstream America.

Audiovisual presentations on Japanese culture and Japanese-American internment during World War II prepared Karwowski's class to meet Oye. In her first visit, she provided background on Japanese family life, from its basis in the Buddhist world view and values to the elements of daily life. She discussed the holidays that enshrine these values, such as Boys Day, Girls Day, and the Obon Festival, in preparation for later presentations of Japanese folkways.

To start her students out on their examination of their family folklife, Karwowski shared her own experiences. She described Christmas traditions in her Polish-American home, brought in "chruscik," and related favorite family stories of her mother's childhood in New York City. Using a set of questionnaires, Karwowski then helped the students collect family stories and history, family

Sunkie Oye demonstrates how sushi is made for teacher Louise Karwowski and her students at Landis Middle School in Vineland. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

pencil
books
notebook
homework

sayings, family recipes, and family musical traditions in conjunction with Oye's presentations on Japanese family life, language, foodways, and folk dance. Students shared their collected materials, enlightening each other and themselves with such stories as the following:

Once two friends from Philadelphia came to my grandmother's poultry farm [when my father was small] and taped money on my dad's tree. Then they got my dad outside and started taking money off the tree and wouldn't let my dad have any. My dad started screaming. Then my grandmother came out and yelled at them for teasing my dad, and made them give my dad all the money that was on the tree. My father was so excited and thought money grew on trees. He soon learned it [doesn't], so sometimes when I want something, he always says, "Do you think money grows on trees?" I have to laugh because he thought he had a special tree that grew money. —Mike Kousmine

When my mother is making chicken, she says to me, "How's the chicken?" And I say, "It's spreading its wings." My mother says it and people in my family say it, so I say it, too. —Jaime Torres

Recognizing that children often devalue what is not presented in the media, Karwowski "wanted to stimulate awareness that culture and folklife are newsworthy." Throughout the program, she had her students collect news articles about cultural topics. She also set up a display table with Japanese magazines, clothing, art, books, and utensils.

By the end of the program, the students had created several documents of their own to testify to their experience in cultural processes. They compiled their recipes into a class cookbook. They assembled their reports on family folklore into booklets, and they videotaped their thank yous to Sunkie Oye.

Curriculum Outline

Developed by Louise Karwowski, with Sunkie Oye, for sixth-grade Social Studies students at Landis Middle School in Vineland. Subject Areas: Social Studies, Language Arts

UNIT GOALS

To develop the understanding that communities and families have distinct cultural identities that are passed from one generation to the next and that are expressed in a variety of folklife traditions

To develop the understanding that traditions are shared, combined, or sometimes changed when different cultural groups interact

To develop respect and appreciation for other cultures and our own family traditions

SUBJECT-SPECIFIC GOALS

Social Studies

To identify and document family traditions

To become familiar with a variety of folklife genres

To acquire basic documentation skills

To become familiar with Japanese-American and Japanese culture and folk arts
To become familiar with the experience of some Japanese-Americans during World War II

Language Arts
To practice writing, speaking, and interviewing skills
To develop creative writing skills

UNIT PLAN

- Introduce concept of cultural interaction
  - Develop with class a list of American breakfast foods and implements
  - Identify the culture that developed each item
  - Explain types of cultural interaction
  - List places and things in Vineland that indicate cultural exchange
- Introduce Japanese culture
  - Show filmstrip *The Japanese: Their Life and Values*
  - Discuss Japanese culture
  - Present background of folk artist
  - Show documentary on Japanese-American internment
  - Discuss cultural conflict
  - Develop interview questions for folk artist
- Present background of Japanese-American community at Seabrook
  - Locate Seabrook on a map of New Jersey
  - Show slide presentation on the Seabrook Japanese community
  - Record questions concerning life in the community for folk artist
- Present family and religious bases of Japanese culture: First visit by Sunkie Oye
  - Supervise student interview
  - Display Japanese artifacts
- Develop familiarity with Japanese language: Second visit by Oye
  - Demonstrate how Japanese hold paper and write
  - Illustrate Japanese characters and greetings on oaktag
  - Assist students in writing Japanese words
  - Write students' names in Japanese
  - Explain Japanese educational system
- Introduce Japanese art forms
  - Discuss rules for creating haiku
  - Practice creating haiku
  - Assignment: Write a haiku and illustrate it for the bulletin board
  - Demonstrate origami
  - Assist students in making paper cranes
  - Review other important Japanese art forms: gardening and ikebana
- Introduce different types of oral traditions
  - Provide examples of how people in different ethnic groups, regions, age groups, and occupations use special language
  - Assignment: Research and record some of the oral traditions of your family, using worksheet
- Introduce foodways: Third visit by Oye
  - Explain Japanese shopping, storing, and serving habits
  - Display cooking and eating implements
  - Demonstrate preparation of sushi
  - Assist students in using chopsticks
  - Provide food of another cultural group and explain its significance
  - Assignment: Identify and record a family recipe, using worksheet
- Introduce the role of music and dance in folk culture: Fourth visit by Oye
  - Explain different types of dance in Japanese culture
  - Demonstrate use of dance costumes and props
  - Demonstrate Japanese minyo dances from different regions
  - Instruct students in performing the dances
  - Review different themes and uses of music in American life
  - Discuss types of music students are familiar with
  - Assignment: Identify music that is part of your family's folklife and record important information about it on worksheet
- Compile student work and conclude unit of study
  - Compile recipes into class recipe book
  - Collect Family Folklife worksheets and assemble into booklets
  - Write and then videotape student reactions to the residency for Oye

Joseph Gibbs, with the John Wesley AME Men's Choir in Port Norris. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Joseph Gibbs

African-American Gospel Singer

The waters of the Delaware estuary serve as a culturally unifying element in southern New Jersey. They connect the lives of people along the Jersey coast with those of people along the Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia coasts in various ways. Because many coastal residents make their living in maritime occupations—fishing, shellfishing, and freighting, for instance—they have similar economic, environmental, and occupational concerns. Moreover, their lifestyles and folkways are similar.

These similarities have allowed and even encouraged interaction. Both men and boats have historically traveled back and forth between the Delaware and Chesapeake bays. Chesapeake bugeyes sometimes work the Delaware Bay, and Jersey schooners have worked for captains as far south as Florida. Family names such as Lore can be found in maritime communities in both Maryland and New Jersey because businessmen moved around the region in search of good markets. In the past, boat crews migrated up the coast from Louisiana to Long Island, following the seasonal harvest of oysters. One of the most important migratory cycles in the region began in the twenties, and eventually led to the establishment of the African-American community in Port Norris and the surrounding areas.

Until the twenties, the marketing of oysters was primarily a "shell trade." That is, oysters were shipped in the shells on railroad cars from Bivalve throughout the country. The development of refrigeration made it possible for oysters to be shucked in Bivalve before they were shipped. Bivalve quickly became a major shucking center, and many of the skilled black shuckers who came from areas such as Crisfield, Maryland, to work in Bivalve seasonally eventually settled there.

Joe Gibbs's life reflects the historical experience not only of the African-American community of Port Norris, but, more broadly, of many black Americans in the twentieth century. After Emancipation, migration became a fact of life for many southern African-Americans as they found it necessary to go from harvest to harvest to make a living. Others traveled to the big cities of the North in search of jobs in industry, but they kept their ties to the southern homeland and family.

Joe Gibbs's great-grandparents were living in Temperanceville, Virginia, at the time of Emancipation. His grandparents, following seasonal work, eventually went to Crisfield, Maryland, where they became part of the large workforce of oyster shuckers. Gibbs grew up there in the care of his grandparents.

Shucking was considered a fairly good job because, despite the long hours and the often difficult working conditions, the workers had some control over their earnings. The basic process of shucking involves opening the mollusk with a special knife and scooping the oyster out. Yet it is not that simple. On some types of oysters, the bill must first be cracked with an iron rod to provide a place to push the knife in. In Port Norris, this style is called "breaking," and it is commonly understood that it originated in Virginia. The other predominant style is "stabbing." Stabbers, who come from Maryland, merely thrust the knife between the two halves of the bill.

Once the shell is opened, the oyster must be removed without cutting its sack, which holds fluid. A tear in the sack not only lessens the quality of the oyster, it also reduces its weight, which means lower profits for the shuckers, who are generally paid by weight for a bucket of shucked oysters. Therefore, as long as the oysters are good, shuckers can increase their pay by working better and faster.

In a typical shucking house of the past, shuckers stood in stalls along the walls, working at a high platform or table piled with oysters. The shucking houses were cold, and the work was wet and messy. When the shucker had filled a bucket with shucked oysters, he or she would take it to the skimmer who

Interior of a shucking house, circa 1920. From *Under Sail: The Dredgeboats of the Delaware Bay*. Courtesy of the New Jersey State Museum and Donald Rolfs.

would weigh it, dump it on a draining table, then scoop the oysters into a vat to be "blown," that is, cleaned with air and water. An unscrupulous skimmer could cheat a worker out of deserved earnings. The shucker could do little more than accept the skimmer's calculation.

The work was seasonal and the workday long. Gibbs recalls his grandparents leaving in the wee hours of the morning and not returning until late evening. They could not control their working hours; if they didn't go, there was always someone else to take the job.

> *If you'd go to a job and it didn't suit you, he [the owner] could tell you, "Take it or get the so-and-so off my property." What were you going to do? The people had large families. You just had to stay there. . . . Well, then, the times was hard. You were disgusted. You were hurt. You were trying to support your children. You began to sing, to ease the burden.*

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What the people sang were the spirituals that had welded the African-American community and helped the black people tolerate their social condition since the time of slavery. Though the center of the culture and of sacred music was the church, the singing of spirituals was appropriate anywhere or any time one needed to express emotion and need, and was learned as part of family, school, and community life.

Gibbs's earliest recollections of learning to sing bring back the voice of his older sister, both in song and in jest:

> *I used to sing around the house. My sister was ahead of me. She used to sing all the time. She was a great songstress. . . . And I used to copy after her, and she used to say, "Oh, go ahead, boy. You can't carry a tune!" like that. So I would try to imitate her. You know, sing after her. And that's how I got into it.*

Church events provided important contexts for learning cultural skills and strengthening communities. At that time, the churches in the Delaware Conference of United Methodist Churches participated in a schedule of camp meetings during the summer. Each Sunday, several churches in the Delmarva region would hold outdoor camp meetings, occasions for reunion, song, and prayer. These reinforced cultural ties and reunited absent brethren. People came from all over:

> *All over! And it was a great thing because, like if you had migrated from your home town, and the camp meeting was at your home that Sunday, wherever you were, you would always come home. Say, for instance, if the camp meeting was in Pocomoke, and Pocomoke was your home, and you had gone up to live in New York, well, on that Sunday when the camp meeting was in Pocomoke, the young boys and the older ones and what not, they'd make their way home to Pocomoke for that day. And then there was a big gathering—just like a big cookout and everything. And everybody's so glad to see you, and everybody's all dressed with their pretty clothes on and everything, you know. . . . And they'd have [what] they called "prayer dancing," and they'd be singing and shouting and just having a wonderful time.*

Another important type of event at church was the pageant. Different types of African-American religious folk dramas were widely performed in churches in the past. For plays such as *Ship of Zion* and *Heaven Bound* the church was elaborately transformed, and members of the congregation took roles in a narration and song drama. In Gibbs's church, congregation members acted out the words to hymns. One person would sing, for instance, "Pilot Me Home," and another would carry a pack, seeming to struggle under its weight. Both parents and children participated. Each church had a special pageant, which it would perform for other congregations.

It was during such a pageant that Gibbs sang his first solo. He was twelve, and sang "Come unto Me."

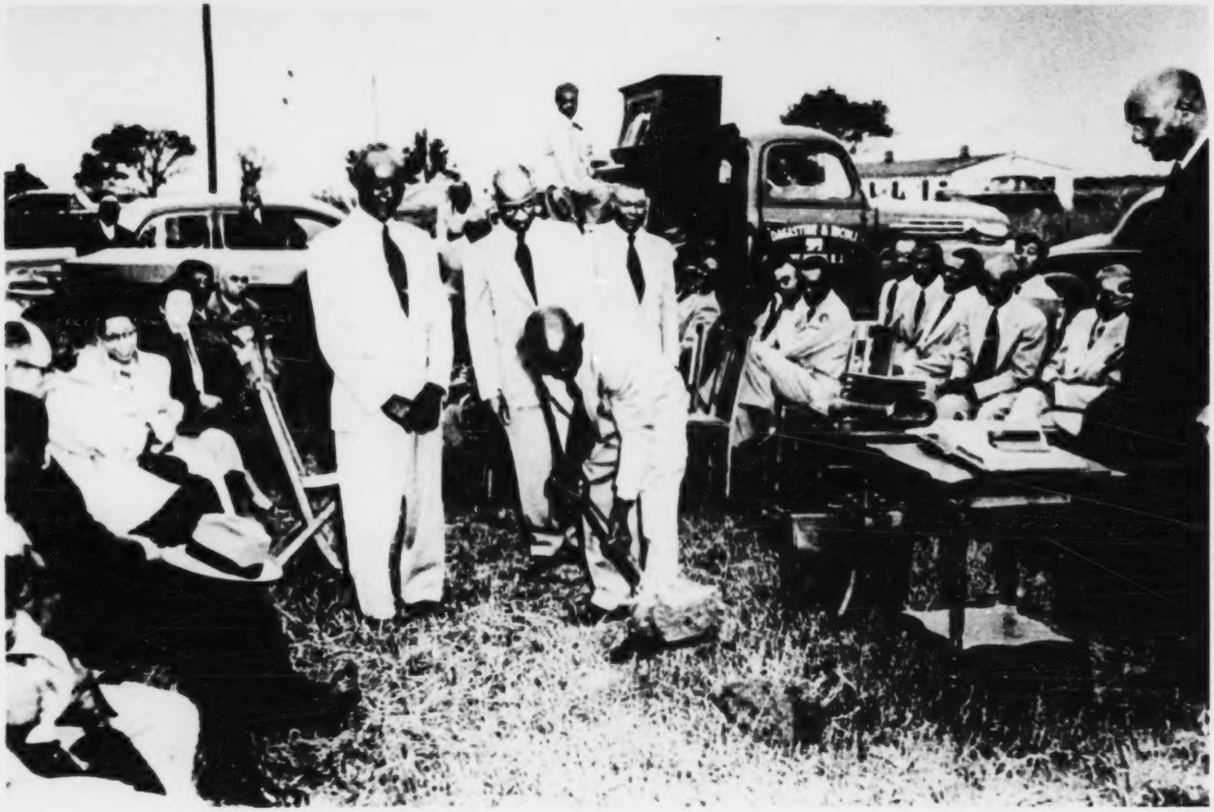
I was very nervous—very, very nervous. . . . And I've forgotten the words now, but I know the chorus:

Oh, come unto me,
Come unto me.
And I will give you rest.
Take my yoke upon you.
Hear me and be blessed.
For I am meek and lowly.
Come and trust my might.
Come, my yoke is easy,
And my burden light.

Gibbs's development as a singer followed the meanderings of his path through life. For him, the church, with its message of brotherhood and spirituality, is as much the central force in an individual's life as it is in the community's life. That message is expressed in traditional spirituals. He believes that although some paths may lead one to more worldly life and musical styles, one who is raised in the church will eventually return to it.

Gibbs was raised in a religious home and attended black schools in which prayer and hymn singing were part of daily life. "And you don't forget that. It's still there when you grow up." Yet after he finished school, Gibbs explains, he, like many other young adults, lived a more worldly life for a while. During that time, he emulated the musical styles of jazz and blues singers. "I used to pattern after those people then." But the fascination of the world eventually waned. "Well, when I got tired of that life, I came on back to what was taught to me, you know? See, there's never been a road that didn't have an end, and I ran that road. When I got tired of that road, that road had an end. I come on back."

What he came back to were the church and the spirituals he had learned as a child. "After I started in the church . . . singing hymns and what not, I started feeling *healed*. And I forgot all about them people . . . I liked the hymns. I'd just give in to my feelings." Now he regards such secular styles as part of the world, whereas spirituals, "they belong to the Almighty." Nevertheless, he believes both kinds of music are a part of African-American heritage that will always endure: "I don't think it'll ever change, because the church is still going to go on, and see, those that are constantly going into the church, they're still going



Reverend Walter Weems breaks ground for the new John Wesley AME Church building on Ogden Avenue, 1953. Photograph courtesy of Georgia Robinson and Barry Ballard.

The John Wesley AME Church in Port Norris. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

to carry it on. The fellows on the outside, they're carrying it on in a jazz way. You can hear that sound in the drums in a jazz way. But in the church, you can hear it, too."

Through his activities in the John Wesley AME Church, Gibbs himself has helped carry on these cultural traditions. He often serves as master of ceremonies on such occasions as church anniversary celebrations, when choirs from other congregations in town visit. As a member of the senior choir, he works with junior choir members to help them learn the songs and develop their singing skills. First he helps the juniors identify their vocal range by having them sing scales with a piano. Then they arrange themselves in groups to learn the music and practice harmony. But although tutors can help others improve by pointing out a wrong chord and singing the correct one for them, the ability to harmonize and improvise that is a key aspect of African-American vocal styles is, according to Gibbs, "a gift." "That's a gift! That's a gift! That's a gift!"

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The Chancel Choir of John Wesley AME Church leads the congregation from the original church building to the site of the new building for ground-breaking ceremonies in 1953. Reverend Johnny Bishop is at front center. Photograph courtesy of Georgia Robinson and Barry Ballard.

In his own singing, Joe Gibbs strives mainly to communicate feelings. He cites former congregation member Coletta Whittington as an inspiration in this respect.

> *She's a very great lady. She used to sing, get happy. She put herself into it. She expressed her feelings. To get anything out of singing, you got to put yourself into it. You got to feel what you're doing.*
>
> *The enjoyment I get out of it . . . when I sing [is] for me to be able to reach you. See, if I can feel it, then you respond, then I know that I've done something, because it travels! It's like a vibration. . . . When you're singing hymns and things like that, and it'll go from me to you, I'll feel good. You'll feel good.*

Joe Gibbs's work history seems to verify his grandmother's observation that one must learn to do many things in order to survive. He began learning when, as one of eight children, he had to help run the home while his grandparents worked at the shucking house. He learned to cook, clean, and do laundry. During those years, he sometimes went to the shucking house with his grandparents and learned another of the skills that would help support him at different times during the course of his life.

When he was twenty-three and had finished high school and two years of college, Joe moved to Port Norris with his mother. During the next ten years, he worked at a variety of jobs that the Jersey coast offered—cooking in restaurants at the shore and on oyster and menhaden boats, shucking oysters in Bivalve, and working the "middle deck" culling oysters on oyster boats.

Culling was the most grueling, and his description of it helps explain why the automatic culling machine was developed (see also the chapter on Fenton Anderson).

They didn't have this equipment that they have now. You had to get down on your knees, and scratch through those shells, and pick out the empty shells. You threw the oysters one way and the shells another. Then you had to get up from the deck and throw the shells back overboard. And they'd pull the dredge in again, dump them by hand, then back down on your knees and cull through. And it was rough on your back and your knees. And then you had to contend with the gnats and the mosquitos and the sun, the rain, what not. It had to be awful *for them not to have you out there in the middle deck.*

As in the shucking house, the difficult conditions of this work often prompted workers to sing for a lift.

In the shucking house, we sang hymns like "Jesus Keep Me Near the Cross" or "Steal away to Jesus" or "What a Friend We Have in Jesus." All church hymns. It seems like it would give you a big lift. You might be way down at the end [of the room], and you start out singing, and the next person picks it up. Then that one over there will hear the tune, and then they'll join in.

Work songs, although prominent in African-American tradition, were not sung in the shucking houses despite the fact that the labor was arduous and the environment uncomfortable. Crews on the menhaden boats used rhythmic call and response songs to coordinate their movements as they pulled in heavy nets. But because each person has his or her own work style and pace in the shucking house, such songs never developed there. Instead, shuckers sang the same hymns that bound them as a community in the church and home.

By the seventies, partly because of the efforts of the union of which Gibbs himself was head for many years, working conditions had improved in the shucking houses, and radios often displaced group singing. Today, because oystering has declined, so have the shucking houses, but there are still many old-timers around Port Norris who recall the beautiful chorus that rang through Bivalve when shuckers sang. In his role as community educator, Joe Gibbs helps pass along these songs and their cultural messages.

Educational Program

No doubt because of Joe Gibbs's experience with children—his face and gentle demeanor are familiar to the children of Port Norris because he worked at the Port Norris Elementary School—as well as the road along which life has taken him, Gibbs felt right at home as an artist-in-residence. Constance Schuchard, with whom Gibbs did a residency in the Vineland Dr. Mennies Elementary School media center, called him a natural teacher: "He cares about children. He has an understanding of what he's doing in a broader sense, and he's able to communicate it well."

Renee Ford, who worked with him at the Max Leuchter School, also in Vineland, reaffirmed Schuchard's view. "Once I got to know him, I knew he was perfect for those children. . . . He knew exactly how to relate to them, and the ones that I thought most 'street,' . . . he took them right under his wing."

Many of Ford's and Schuchard's students were African-American and Hispanic, and most shared an urban orientation, despite the fact that much of the surrounding area is rural. The curriculum for the residency served to introduce the students to the rural aspects of the county.

Ford saw the residency as a chance to help her students learn important lessons about culture while they acquired concepts in natural and social sciences and improved communication skills. Her curriculum framed the experi-

Renee Ford and her third-grade students with Joe Gibbs during his residency at Max Leuchter Elementary School in Vineland. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

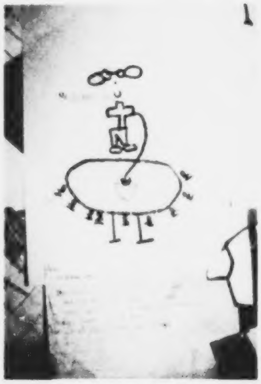
ence of African-Americans within the study of the Delaware Bay maritime region and emphasized map skills, sequencing, and composition.

Recognizing that most students experience the natural bodies of water in the area only as recreational resources, she explored with them some of the occupations that the ocean supports, and focused especially on Delaware Bay oystering. After studying the ecology of the oyster, the class learned about oystering methods and tools with Captain Fenton Anderson. The students visited Bivalve and the *Martha Meerwald* with Anderson. He later visited the class to discuss his collection of artifacts and narrate a slide presentation on oyster schooners.

This provided a meaningful context for the study of oyster shucking and the people involved in it. Ford drew her students into the study of African-American history as a long, arduous road, and prepared them for Gibbs's residency by tracing the route of his migration on a map of the United States and comparing it with Frederick Douglass's travels. Gibbs then began his residency with a demonstration of shucking techniques and a discussion of the life of an oyster shucker. Later in the residency, he talked about the relevance of traditional spirituals for African-Americans historically and for himself personally:

> *There's one spiritual they say. . . .*
>
> *"Nobody knows the trouble I've seen.*
> *Nobody knows my sorrows.*
> *Nobody knows the trouble I've seen.*
> *Glory Hallelujah!"*
>
> *Now that relates to everything . . . from a babe rocking in the cradle on through. . . . Like a cycle. It's showing the children how they've come up, . . . from being down, to come on almost up to the top. . . It teaches them, those that want to grasp and improve themselves.*

Ford tied the topics and events of the residency to classwork and skills development. Before the program began, she prepared a bulletin board on which each student's work would be displayed on a drawing of an oyster shell. Eventually, she displayed student-drawn maps of the route to Bivalve, visual and written descriptions of the sequence of steps in shucking oysters and making oyster fritters, and paragraphs describing the visit to the *Martha Meerwald*. She also assembled a table-top display of shells and books about oysters and oystering.



One third grader documented Joe Gibbs's demonstration of the preparation of oyster fritters with a drawing and a short narrative. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

For both Schuchard and Ford, first-hand experience is a key learning tool for the students, and the residency facilitates that. Schuchard points out that one of the reasons a residency is so effective is that it provides a new perspective in the classroom, and that freshness of viewpoint creates a vivid learning experience. "I can talk about sailing, but to them I'm not 'a sailor.'" She incorporated all of the resources in the media center to heighten that perspective for the fourth graders who participated in the residency, as well as to solve some logistical problems.

Before the program started, Schuchard took slides at a shucking house in Bivalve and created an automated slide show with them. When the class had to divide into small groups to watch Gibbs prepare oyster fritters, the slide show formed part of a rotation of activities. It was also available to other classes that used the media center. Schuchard shelved separately a large collection of books on topics related to the residency, and displayed copies of many photographs and drawings from magazines and newspapers.

Because students had only one library period per week, Schuchard provided teachers with materials for follow-up in the classroom. She required that students create a project at the end of the program. Among her suggested projects were a mural depicting different aspects of oystering, a labeled cross-section of an oyster, a collection of oyster recipes, and a tall tale about oysters.

Curriculum Outline

Developed by Renee Ford, with Joseph Gibbs and Fenton Anderson, for third-grade students in a self-contained classroom at Max Leuchter Elementary School, Vineland. Subject Areas: Social Studies, Science, Language Arts

UNIT GOALS

To develop respect for cultural differences
To develop an understanding of the relationship of African-American culture and history to the Delaware Bay maritime region
To appreciate the skill and pride people display in their jobs

SUBJECT-SPECIFIC GOALS

Social Studies

To develop map skills
To become familiar with the history, methods, and tools of oystering and oyster shucking
To become familiar with African-American history and musical traditions
To explore ethnic identity and foodways

Science

To understand the different ways in which bodies of water are a resource
To become familiar with types of regional shellfish

Language Arts

To develop interviewing skills
To write complete sentences in paragraph form
To arrange events in sequential order

UNIT PLAN

Introduce students to residency topics
  The Delaware Bay maritime region
    List recreational uses of Cumberland County waters

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        - List water-related occupations
        - Read handout about oyster shucking
    - Ethnic identity
        - Discuss teacher's heritage
        - Compile list of different ethnic groups and their related foodways
        - Assignment: Gather information about family foodways
    - African-American history
        - Review Joe Gibbs's life and migration
        - Read and discuss story about Frederick Douglass
        - Trace and compare the two men's travel routes
    - Prepare for first visit of folk artist
        - Develop list of interview questions
        - Prepare bulletin board for unit assignments
- Introduce the life and skills of an oyster shucker: First visit by Joe Gibbs
    - Discuss Gibbs's family experiences in oyster shucking
    - Demonstrate Maryland and Virginia styles of shucking and tools
    - Assignment: Draw a picture of each of six steps of shucking in correct sequence; write one sentence describing each
- Introduce biology of oysters and oyster farming
    - Describe formation, growth, and habitat of the oyster
    - Read handout on oyster farming
    - Discuss the methods of oystering, including planting of seed oysters and culling
    - Prepare display table with shells and books on oysters
- Introduce foodways involving oysters: Second visit by Gibbs
    - Discuss difference between pearl oysters and food oysters
    - Demonstrate preparation of oyster fritters
    - Assignment: List steps in preparation of fritters in correct sequence; list ingredients for fritters
- Introduce oyster boats
    - Show film on oystering
    - Read handout on oyster boats and how they have changed
    - Review facts about oysters and oystering
    - Tour the *Martha Meerwald* and discuss equipment
    - Prepare questions for Captain Anderson
    - Assignment: Write a paragraph of four complete sentences describing your impressions of the *Martha Meerwald*
    - Assignment: Prepare collage representing oyster schooner
- Introduce African-American traditional spirituals
    - Play recording of spirituals
    - Discuss how slavery and spirituals were related
    - Share spirituals from personal experience: Third visit by Joe Gibbs
    - Compare spirituals of slavery era with those of the present day
- Review importance of schooner upkeep and repair: First visit by Captain Anderson
    - Show slides of schooners and boatyard work while Captain Anderson explains them
    - Using shell collection, discuss enemies of the oyster
- Present traditions in a concluding event: Fourth visit by Joe Gibbs
    - Share a traditional African-American breakfast with students
    - Elicit favorite stories and poems of Joe Gibbs
    - Assignment: Write thank-you notes to Gibbs and Anderson
    - Assemble all handouts and assignments into booklets

Andrea (Henry) Licciardello at the Vineland Produce Auction. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Andrea (Henry) Licciardello

Auctioneer

NEW JERSEY'S NICKNAME "the Garden State" was coined in an era when much of the state functioned as a sort of backyard garden to nearby urban centers. In colonial times, New Jersey farms supplied markets in New York and Philadelphia with fresh produce. In the mid-nineteenth century, the opening of the railroad made more distant markets accessible, and for a century New Jersey farms provided the nation with eggs and poultry, dairy products, berries, orchard fruits, tomatoes, green vegetables, white and sweet potatoes, corn and other grains, as well as flowers, shrubs, and turf, making agriculture an important part of the state economy and farming a widespread lifestyle.

But after World War II, the picture began to change in much of the state. The automobile made rural areas accessible to city workers, and gradually farmlands sprouted suburban developments. Today, only a few farms remain in the western portions of northeastern counties such as Essex. With the expansion of the highway system, even rural Sussex and Warren counties in the western part of North Jersey are accessible from New York. Recently, counties in Central Jersey and the Delaware Valley have become especially attractive to corpora-

Sweet-potato harvest at the farm of Giuseppe Ferrari, circa 1900. From the *Monografia della Famosa Colonia Italianna di Vineland, New Jersey.* Courtesy of the Vineland Historical Society.

tions, and areas of Middlesex, Mercer, Burlington, and Gloucester that once were farms are now corporate parks and suburban developments. As prices skyrocket in North Jersey, the housing market in South Jersey becomes more attractive. Land values rise, and many farmers sell out and move elsewhere to farm. In the southernmost counties, the growth of the Atlantic City casino industry has created housing needs. The completion of Route 55 foreshadows more growth. Development puts pressure on the environment, and regulation for both environmental protection and agricultural practice complicates farming. Although New Jersey farmers have been masters at adaptation, still maintaining one of the highest national per-acre production rates, the "Garden State" has indeed changed in the last thirty years.

Agriculture in Cumberland County has changed, too, but it is still an important part of the landscape, economy, and lifestyle. Before the railroad most farming in the county was for subsistence. Farmers used their livestock, poultry, and produce to feed their families first and then bartered or sold the remainder at nearby markets. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the diversification of both crops and populations contributed to the growth of agriculture, especially in the eastern portion of the county which is part of the band of excellent soil that runs up the state through several counties.

In the area around Vineland, Jews who were drawn to the Alliance colonies and Italians who were recruited by Charles Landis established many small farms. Because of their hard work, the soil that had always been thought too sandy to be productive became fruitful. The Italians introduced "new" vegetables such as peppers, eggplant, and greens to the markets. Large vegetable and fruit crops attracted "canhouses" (processing plants) to the region.

In the 1920s, hatcheries proliferated around Vineland, which soon began calling itself the "Egg Basket of the East." In the same decade, fruit and vegetable farmers banded together in cooperatives to sell their crops at auctions in Cedarville and Rosenhayn. These auctions gave farmers more control over pricing and payment. With the old consignment system, farmers shipped their crops to buyers in Philadelphia and New York without knowing exactly what or when they would be paid. In an auction, farmers can withdraw their produce if prices are too low.

Buyers resented the system initially. It required them to travel to the auctions and to bid more competitively. However, they profited by being able to see and choose the best of the proffered produce. Eventually, other produce auctions opened in Glassboro, Hammonton, Landisville, Swedesboro, and Vineland.

The fifties and sixties saw the decline of two agricultural pursuits that had greatly influenced Cumberland County. In the late forties, many survivors of concentration camps had joined the Jewish community and concentrated on poultry and egg farming, contributing to the vitality of the industry. But in the sixties egg farming succumbed to competition from the South. Soon after, Seabrook Farms, which had pioneered mass growing and processing techniques in the western portion of the county and brought a diverse range of immigrants to the area, was also being broken up.

Despite these setbacks, and the suburbanization of the northwestern portion of the county, the economy and lifestyle in Cumberland County are still highly dependent on agriculture. The county still has one of the largest agricultural economies in the state, and it is a leader in the production of many crops. In the western townships, farms are larger, and nursery and turf farming are important. Dutch families that came to staff the Seabrook nurseries now have their own businesses. Around Vineland, small farms of Italian families still predominate, and keep pace economically by adopting intensive methods such as multiple cropping. Traditional crops such as tomatoes, eggplant, peppers, squash, broccoli, and greens have been joined by yet another new generation of produce, such as Chinese vegetables and newly popular varieties of lettuce.

Mauricetown, New Jersey, on the Maurice River in Cumberland County. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

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The docks at Bivalve, historic center of the New Jersey Delaware Bay oystering industry. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

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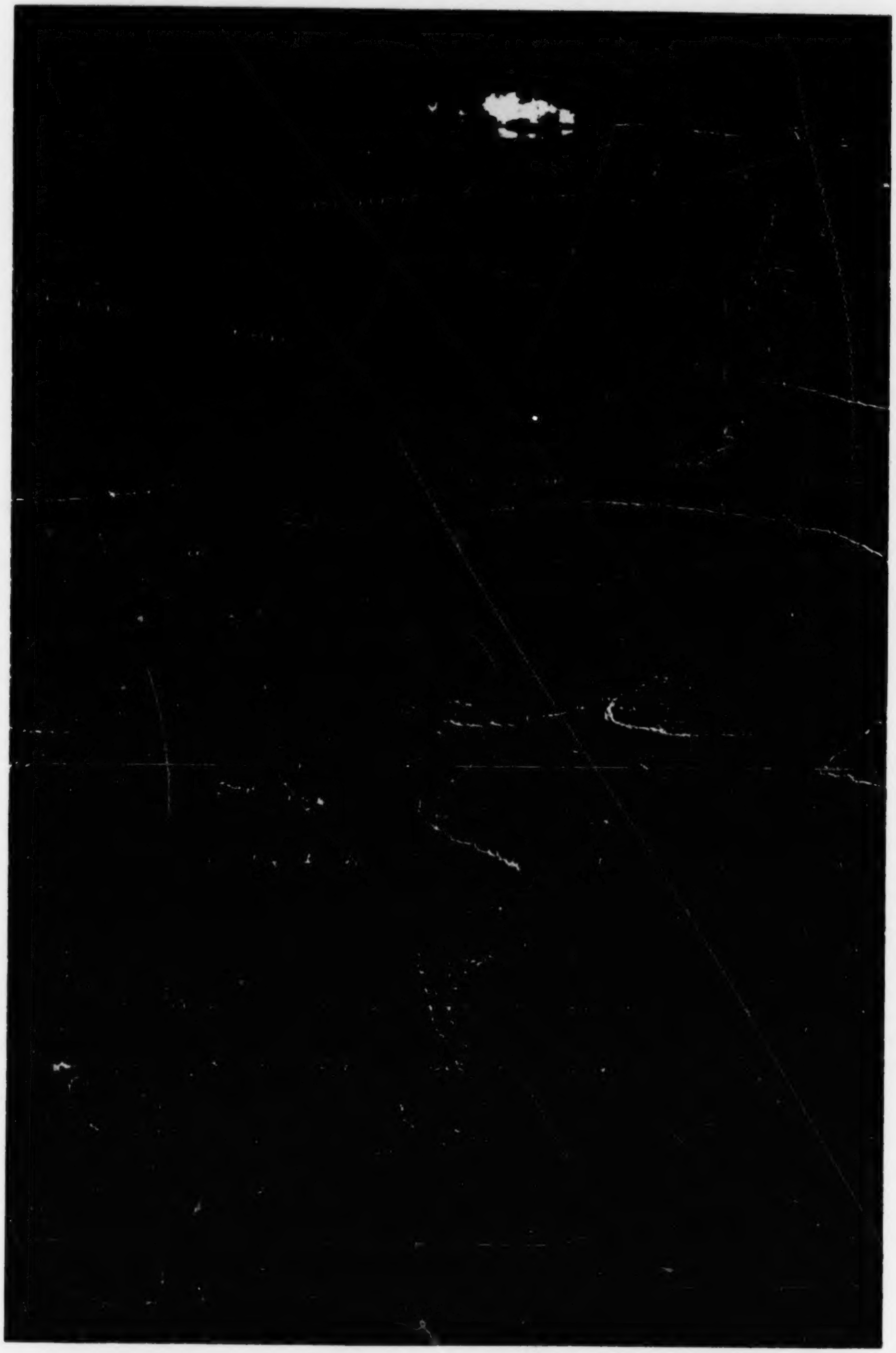

The Maurice River wandering through the marshlands. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

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Cumberland County, New Jersey, where the land and water are still important in the livelihood and lifestyles of many residents. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

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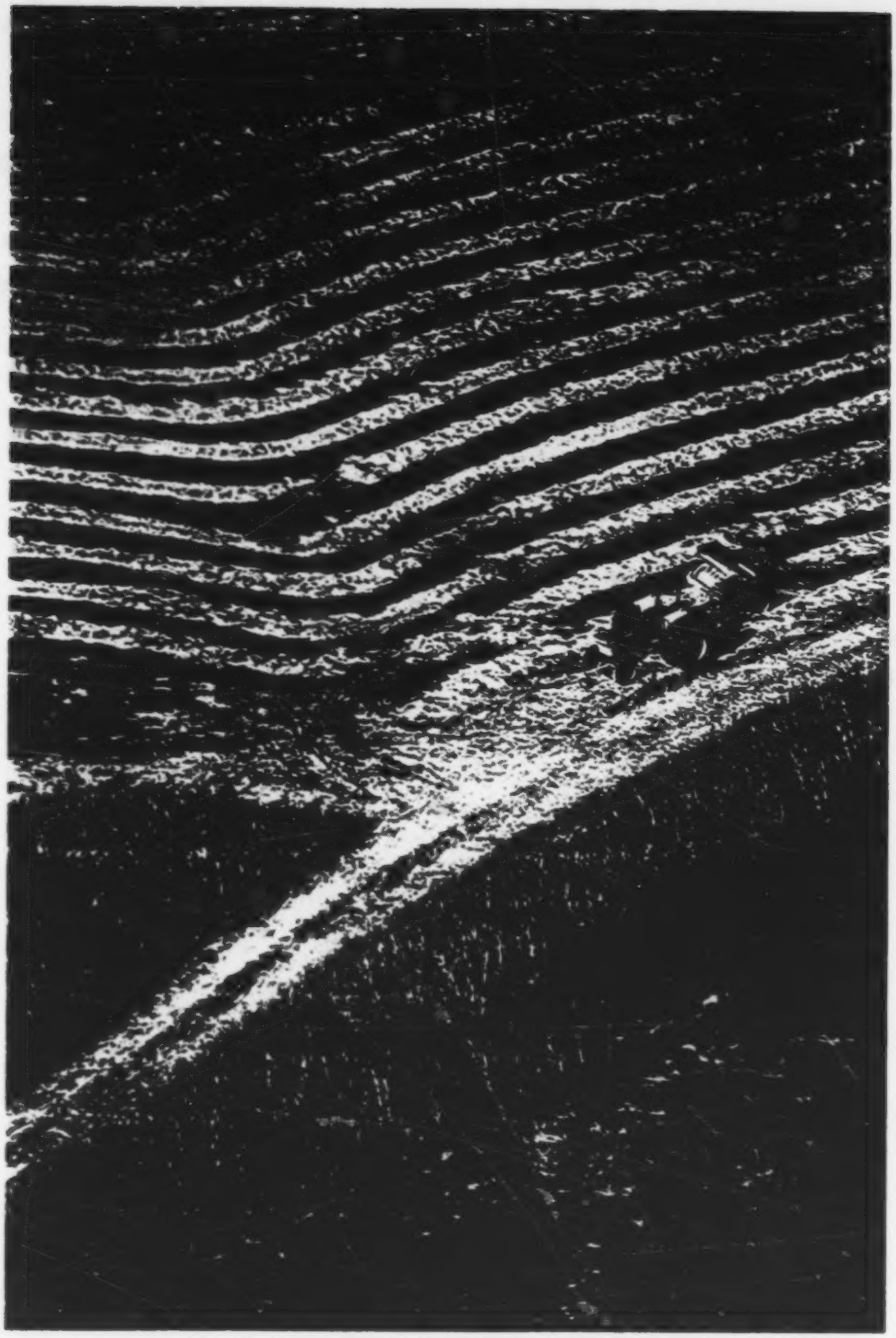
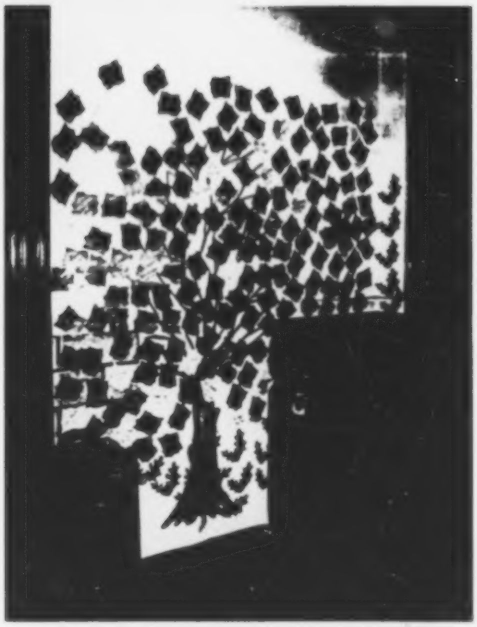


Farm in Cumberland County. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Abe Crystal, former poultry farmer, Norma, New Jersey, 1983. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

On a wall outside their classroom, Andrea Manno's students mounted a "class tree" that identifies the different birthplaces of their ancestors. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.



HOME
CASA
BOHIO

Mural at the Casa Prac building in Vineland. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

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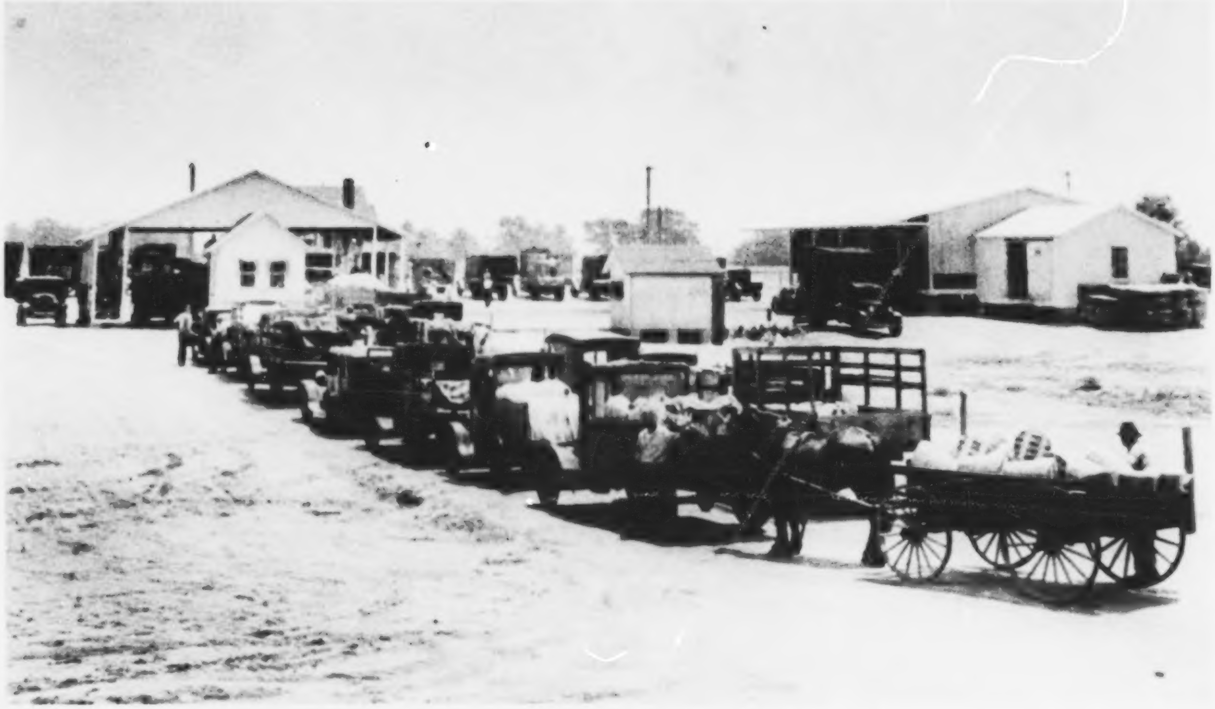
The Mariners' Window at the Mauricetown Methodist Church. The window commemorates local men who were lost at sea between 1856 and 1914. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.



Farmers lined up outside the Vineland Produce Auction, circa 1930. Courtesy of the Vineland Produce Auction.

As agriculture has changed, so have the settlement patterns and occupations of the second and third generations of the Jewish and Italian families. Around Vineland, for instance, some areas that used to be farms have become suburban neighborhoods, housing the children of farmers who have entered professions and service occupations. Many of the brokers who now bid at the Vineland Auction are the sons of farmers who first formed the cooperative. Other residents of these communities are city-bred, coming to the area from Philadelphia and urban North Jersey for jobs or marriage. For them, the farms and agricultural lifestyle, though nearby, are nevertheless unfamiliar.

Andrea (Henry) Licciardello's father came to the United States from Italy in the twenties. After working in construction for ten years, he bought a farm in Salem County, later buying more land in nearby Gloucester County so that each of his three sons could one day have a farm. At that time there were many canneries in the area, and much of what farmers grew they sold directly to these processors. This convenient arrangement allowed small family farms to prosper.

By the fifties, Henry Licciardello was working the land his father had bought, growing asparagus, sweet potatoes, eggplant, peppers, and both market and canhouse tomatoes. But agriculture was beginning to change, spurred by

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both environmental and socioeconomic forces. A series of droughts in the decade made survival dependent on irrigation. Such systems were expensive. In addition, land was becoming more valuable for development, and many farms were being sold. It seemed that agriculture in the area was on the wane, and many of the canning companies that had opened in the thirties decided to move out of state rather than invest money in refurbishing aging equipment.

This scenario put small farmers in a precarious position. They had to grow more produce for the fresh market and compete with larger operations that could afford expensive irrigation systems.

One day during the fifties, as he sat waiting his turn at the produce auction in Glassboro, Henry Licciardello reflected on all of this and decided that he had to start thinking of doing something else for a living. The auctioneer's chant intruded on his thoughts with an answer:

> *Just out of the blue, I said to myself, "You know, I bet I can do that." I was always fascinated by auctioneers, you know. But at that time I didn't know whether I really could or not. But as we get older we find out that we can do anything we want to do if we really make up our mind to do it. So that's how it all happened.*
>
> *The auctioneer that I was watching, the day that I made up my mind that I could possibly be an auctioneer, his name was Holzhauser. And I said to myself, I said, "Good Lord! There's not too many young auctioneers around!" I said, "Somebody's going to have to take his place."*

Licciardello drew on many sources to prepare himself to take the place of the older generation of auctioneers. Throughout his childhood, he had seen auctioneers work at the small auctions that operated in the region. But he also had seen advertisements for auctioneering schools in agricultural magazines. He decided to take the two-week course offered by the Western College of Auctioneering in Mississippi to formalize his preparation for the job. The curriculum covered both verbal and technical skills needed by an auctioneer, with lessons on salesmanship and auction setup, for instance, interspersed among sessions on bid calling. His teachers were all professional auctioneers who had "learned from their own experience."

Licciardello soon found that that was the main way that he would have to learn, too:

> *The way you really learn the business is just get out there and do it. You get out there and you do your own auction sales. You go around to other auctions and listen to other auctioneers. You learn from their mistakes. You learn from your own mistakes. That's what makes a good auctioneer.*

When he went back to South Jersey, Licciardello practiced at home and visited other auctions. His first job was at the annual consignment auction in

Sam Ronchetti calling at the Vineland Produce Auction as Henry Licciardello records bids. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Cedarville, where they usually sold produce. They asked him to do the auction "to see if they liked how I sound." "I did a lot of hard work," Licciardello recalls,

> *because I didn't know what I was doing. In other words, the item was probably worth maybe ten or fifteen dollars. I was maybe trying to start it for a two hundred dollar bid. And nobody would start it, and then you would have to back all the way down and start from the bottom up again. . . . But they hired me, so everything worked out fine.*

After working many kinds of auctions for the next eighteen years, Licciardello began to work with Sam Ronchetti at the Vineland Produce Auction in Vineland in 1979, when the latter decided to go into semiretirement. Ronchetti would work half the day and Licciardello would work half. His work with Ronchetti and the high-powered Vineland auction provided another step in Licciardello's education.

Sam Ronchetti's father had been one of the original founders of the co-op, and its first auctioneer. His preparation had come from observing others, and that is how his son Sam learned, too. Eventually, Sam Ronchetti took his father's place as auctioneer.

Today the auction has annual sales of over thirty-five million dollars. Four hundred farmers from five counties belong to the auction cooperative. Each pays an annual membership fee of one dollar and 3 percent of the sales of his produce. In turn, the farmer receives a share of the auction's profits. The cooperative

Farmers unload their produce at the Vineland Produce Auction. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

owns the buildings and employs the staff. The buyers represent food chains located mostly in Canada, New England, New York, and northern New Jersey.*

The auction runs six days a week in the growing season. It has a complex structure and folkways of its own. The farmer, or his representative (usually his wife or daughter), registers in the office and gets a "line number." These line numbers are arranged according to a master list kept by the auction's manager. The trucks then form two lines outside the block. Each truck pulls up, one on each side of a platform, with a sample of the farmer's produce. The crates and bushels can then be inspected by the buyers before bidding begins. But once an item is "under the hammer" (offered for bidding), only the farmer can stop the sale.

The buyers sit in ascending rows in front of the auctioneer and the produce platform. They are surrounded by telephones. Some buyers prefer to be seated in the top rows where they can see everything; others prefer the lower rows so they can better inspect the produce. The buyers usually inform the auctioneer of what they are after—size, quantity, and quality.

The auctioneer starts the bid and usually raises it in increments of ten or twenty-five cents. Working with the same buyers on a daily basis fosters a

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*Some information in this description of the Vineland auction was drawn from the "Background" section of Glenn Christmann's Curriculum Packet.

Brokers examine each lot of produce before bidding begins. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

smooth working relationship, and the auctioneer learns to recognize certain bid signals from individuals. Occasionally a novice buyer who doesn't know the system makes an error in bidding and causes a temporary slowdown. The buyers are constantly on the telephone with their main offices for purchase authorizations.

Once the sale is made, the auctioneer's assistant writes out the sales ticket. The ticket is made up of four copies. One copy goes to the farmer, another to the buyer. To get the copy to the buyer, who is sitting in the stands, the manager places the ticket in a slit tennis ball and tosses it to him. Two copies are placed in a box for the office. Periodically during the day secretaries from the office pick up the tickets for processing. The buyers pay the produce auction, and the auction pays the farmer for the goods sold that week.

After a sale, the farmer delivers his produce to the buyer's loading platform in another building. There it is loaded onto refrigerated trucks and shipped to market.

Because so much is at stake, strategy is important to both buyers and auctioneer. Licciardello compares the process to a "little fight between them." The farmer wants the highest price, the buyer wants the lowest price, and the auctioneer is the negotiator.

Each buyer also wants to buy for less than the other buyers so that his retail chain can, in turn, offer the produce at a lower price. Therefore, buyers

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pursue a variety of strategies to affect the movement of the bid, including concealing their own bids from other buyers. "So, that auctioneer must really be alert," Licciardello says. "I honestly believe that's what separates a good auctioneer from a poor auctioneer." He must recognize a half-nod, a wink, or a raised eyebrow as a bid. And he must know how long to "hang on," waiting for a better bid, before closing the sale, because "my job is to please the farmer—to get as much as I can for the farmer."

Licciardello regards Sam Ronchetti as a master of the art of auctioneering. He feels that they have both learned from working together in a changing environment. For instance, the traditional nickel bid rise has become obsolete:

> *The produce auction has grown to be so big that both of us have changed our style of bidding. They have such a tremendous variety of produce comes through there, and lots of times, the demand for that particular produce can change from hour to hour. So a lot of times we can't stay with that dime figure in there. Lots of times we find ourselves even taking dollar bids and half-dollar bids.*

Besides working at the Vineland Produce Auction, Licciardello runs a weekly auction at his home, Andrea's Auction. It is a family business, with his wife doing the paperwork and running the office, and Licciardello and his son supervising the physical setup of the merchandise and doing the auctioneering.

Here, in particular, Licciardello sees the importance of an auctioneer's style. In the small auctions that he attended as a youth, the auctioneers and buyers were familiar to one another because they came from little more than a five-mile radius. This familiarity affected the auctioneer's style. He would use more of what auctioneers call "talk"—filler words—and joke with and prod his buyers. Outsiders might find him difficult to understand, but the regular community interacted freely and comfortably in the event.

In contrast, public auctions like Andrea's Auction draw people from a wide area who are often unfamiliar with auctions. "I can remember when I started my auction twenty years ago, people would come into my auction and they would be scared to death. You know—'We just don't understand an auctioneer.'"

Like other auctioneers in these broader markets, Licciardello has found ways to make his chant more comprehensible to his customers. For instance, he may use numbers rather than filler words to keep the rhythm of the call. However, just as at the earlier local auctions, he continues to change tone and style throughout the auction to avoid becoming boring. Even customers new to auctions now praise his clarity and style. Like the farmers of South Jersey who have adapted to changing markets, Licciardello has managed to bridge the past and present, the old and the new, to help maintain the importance of agriculture in South Jersey.

Henry Licciardello acknowledges a broker's bid during an auction. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Educational Program

The population at Main Road School in Franklin Township, where Licciardello's residency took place, is a mix of children from multiple-generation agricultural families and more recently arrived urban and suburban families. Glenn Christmann created his math curriculum for sixth graders with this in mind. He decided to present a study of auctions within a frame of regional socioeconomics. He was able to integrate math, social studies, language arts, and health by developing lessons on various aspects of the production-consumption chain and on the skills and structures of auctioneering. Students learned how produce is grown, how it is marketed, and how its consumption is both an economic and nutritional issue for families, as well as how to conduct an auction and calculate commissions.

Christmann's preparation for the residency introduced him to the world of agriculture and the auction. He began by attending the Vineland Produce Auction and Andrea's Auction to learn about their structure. He interviewed Henry

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Licciardello, and "things started to fall into place, especially after talking to Henry. He had a personality about him that people will take a liking to."

Together, the two worked out the steps that would prepare the students for the culminating event of the residency, a mock auction in the classroom. Christmann believes that when students "have a good idea of what's coming, they're a lot more receptive to it," so he envisioned his role as "paving the way" for Licciardello to "come in and do what he's best at—auctioneering." Licciardello, in turn, helped Christmann pave the way. Before the residency began, he taught Christmann the auctioneer's chants, and Christmann took the skill back to his students. He also recorded the auction and told the class, "This is what you're going to be doing by the time we're done."

Although Licciardello had taught his son and a friend how to auctioneer, he was unsure of how children in a formal schoolroom would react. "I thought it would be real interesting, but I didn't know what the response of the youngsters would be. . . . But I come to find out that they were really interested. And when they were really interested, it was really easy."

The program began with an introduction to auctions in which the class developed a list of nine types of auctions: farm, real estate, antique, consignment, household liquidation, estate liquidation, benefit, catalogue, and truck and trailer. They then prepared for Licciardello's first visit by reviewing listening skills (identifying main ideas and supporting details) and preparing questions for interviewing.

During his first visit, Licciardello talked about his own preparation for auctioneering and reviewed the skills and methods he had learned. He introduced the class to the jargon of the occupation and began working with them on some of the math and language skills involved in it, such as bookkeeping procedures, calculation of commissions, breathing techniques, and enunciation.

Christmann followed up on those topics by playing a recording of an auction and having his students identify bid scales (the increments used by an auctioneer) and filler words (any words other than numbers used during bid calling).

When Licciardello returned, he led the class through an activity designed to help the students build a skill that is important to both an auctioneer and a good speaker: keen observation of and response to one's audience while speaking. The students formed a large circle and practiced bid scales, each at his or her own pace, while looking at classmates. Then each student took a turn in the middle of the circle, reciting these scales as he or she proceeded around the inside of the circle and made eye contact with each classmate. Finally, they formed small groups to practice these skills.

Another activity that sharpened enunciation was individual and group recitation of tongue twisters. Christmann prepared a handout of "tongue twisters" that Licciardello provided. To the delight and confusion of the students, it included such lines as:

Theophus Thistle the famous thistle sifter while sifting a sieve full of unsifted thistles thrust three thousand thistles through the thick of his thumb.

Betty Bottor bought some butter but she said this butter's bitter. If I put this bitter butter in my batter it will make my batter bitter. So she bought a bit of better butter, put it in her bitter batter, made her bitter batter better. So it's better Betty Bottor bought a bit of better butter.

With these activities, it became apparent that many of the elements of performance that are so important to a good auctioneer are also important to a good teacher. Negotiating, motivating, and maintaining interest, attention, and order all help teachers teach as much as they help auctioneers sell. Recalls Christmann: "He [Licciardello] was able to get the kids to do things that they ordinarily wouldn't do. . . . [If] the kids would get silly, he'd settle them down. Or he might tackle them in pairs instead of as a group. 'Now this is how you do it' or 'Try this.' He worked a lot with one on one."

Christmann then tied the auction into the agricultural production-consumption chain that is so much a part of regional culture. The students followed an agricultural crop through the many steps in its production: testing and preparation of the soil, plowing, planting and fertilizing, spraying, cultivating, irrigating, harvesting, packaging, and selling or storing. They then followed it through the Vineland Produce Auction, examining the set-up, procedures, and role of the auction in getting the produce onto the tables of consumers.

The next few activities gave the sixth graders some practice in personal finance. To make the connection between the market and the consumer, Christmann helped his students plan a well-balanced set of meals for a family of four. They reviewed the basic food groups and calculated serving portions for adults and children. Then they "shopped" for the ingredients, using newspaper ads and supermarket circulars to get the most economical shopping plan. Finally, they computed the costs of the meal plan. Each student was then assigned the task of creating his or her own plan in a similar way. To evaluate success, the class later reviewed all the plans and decided which student would get the most for his or her money.

Preparation for the class auction required creating the "merchandise" to be auctioned, preparing a clerking system, designating personnel, and establishing ground rules. Each student found magazine pictures of items he or she wished to sell, mounted them separately on construction paper, and recorded his or her name, item description, and list price on the back. They reviewed con-

Henry Licciardello displays an item for bid as student Arnita Green calls at the mock auction organized during Licciardello's residency with the sixth-grade students of Glenn Christmann at Main Road School in Franklin Township. Photograph by Joyce Francis.

signment procedures used at Andrea's Auction and developed a clerking system to use for the class auction. During the next two days, under Licciardello's guidance, student auctioneers chanted scales, "ring men" (helpers) identified bidders on the floor, and a student clerk recorded the transactions.

Some of the lessons learned were unplanned but advantageous for both students and teacher. Christmann recalls the final auction session:

> *[During the first day of the auction], the prices were outrageous, so the next one, we put a dollar limit on. I gave them each one hundred dollars in Monopoly money, and at the end of the auction, some of the kids still had money left. They each had bought something, but some of the kids had money left. Some had thirty, some forty, some ten. And at the end of the auction, we had some items left to be sold, and the kids were pooling their money—giving the money to others, so they could purchase this particular item that somebody else was bidding on. And I said, "Oh, they shouldn't have been doing that! That shouldn't happen!" And Henry said, "Oh, yes! That happens a lot in auctions." He said, "You get family groups or friends . . . and they'll just pool their money together and purchase something for one or the other. Maybe they'll pay back later."*
>
> *I tried to stop it during the auction, and he said, "No, no! Let them go!" And he told me why later.*

Licciardello knew that they were learning a lesson that life usually teaches.

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Curriculum Outline

Developed by Glenn Christmann, with Andrea (Henry) Licciardello, for sixth-grade advanced math students at Main Road School, Franklin Township. Subject Areas: Math, Language Arts, Social Studies, Health

UNIT GOALS

- To become familiar with important aspects of the regional agricultural economy
- To understand that marketing is a critical link between production and consumption
- To understand how family and personal economies are linked to larger economic chains
- To understand how auctions work

SUBJECT-SPECIFIC GOALS

Math

- To develop skills in personal economics
- To learn how to calculate commissions
- To learn methods of financial record keeping

Language Arts

- To develop listening skills
- To develop interviewing skills
- To learn the uses of occupational jargon
- To develop speaking skills, especially enunciation and eye contact

Social Studies

- To become familiar with elementary aspects of economic systems
- To become familiar with the production and marketing methods of local agriculture

Health

- To review principles of good nutrition
- To investigate the connection between family nutrition and economics

UNIT PLAN

- Prepare students for residency program
  - Elicit students' personal experiences with auctions
  - Identify different types of auctions
  - Explain the history of auctions
  - Review listening skills
  - Develop interview questions
- Introduce the methods and skills of an auctioneer: First visit by Henry Licciardello
  - Explain different types of auctions
  - Define auctioneers' jargon: "the block," "under the hammer," "ring man," "scales," "filler words"
  - Describe auction setup
  - Discuss skills and techniques of the auctioneer
  - Demonstrate and conduct practice of tongue twisters and basic auctioneering scales
  - Answer student interview questions
- Develop topics introduced by auctioneer
  - Review jargon
  - Play tape of auction
  - Identify scales and filler words
  - Discuss consignment methods
- Develop skills in auctioneering: Second visit by Licciardello
  - Distribute handouts of auctioneer's scales and tongue twisters
  - Assemble students in circle and practice scales
  - Demonstrate use of hands and eyes in bid calling
  - Lead students in calling bids and calling scales
  - Introduce and demonstrate use of filler words
  - Lead students in saying tongue twisters
  - Reassemble students in small groups and conduct practice sessions
- Introduce the production-consumption chain
  - Review and discuss the steps in producing a crop
  - Describe the function and setup of a produce auction
  - Discuss the distribution of produce after it leaves the auction
- Demonstrate the relationship of the production-consumption chain to family nutrition and economics
  - Review components of a well-balanced diet
  - Create a menu plan for a family of four
  - Using advertisements, calculate costs of plan
  - Discuss ways to reduce costs

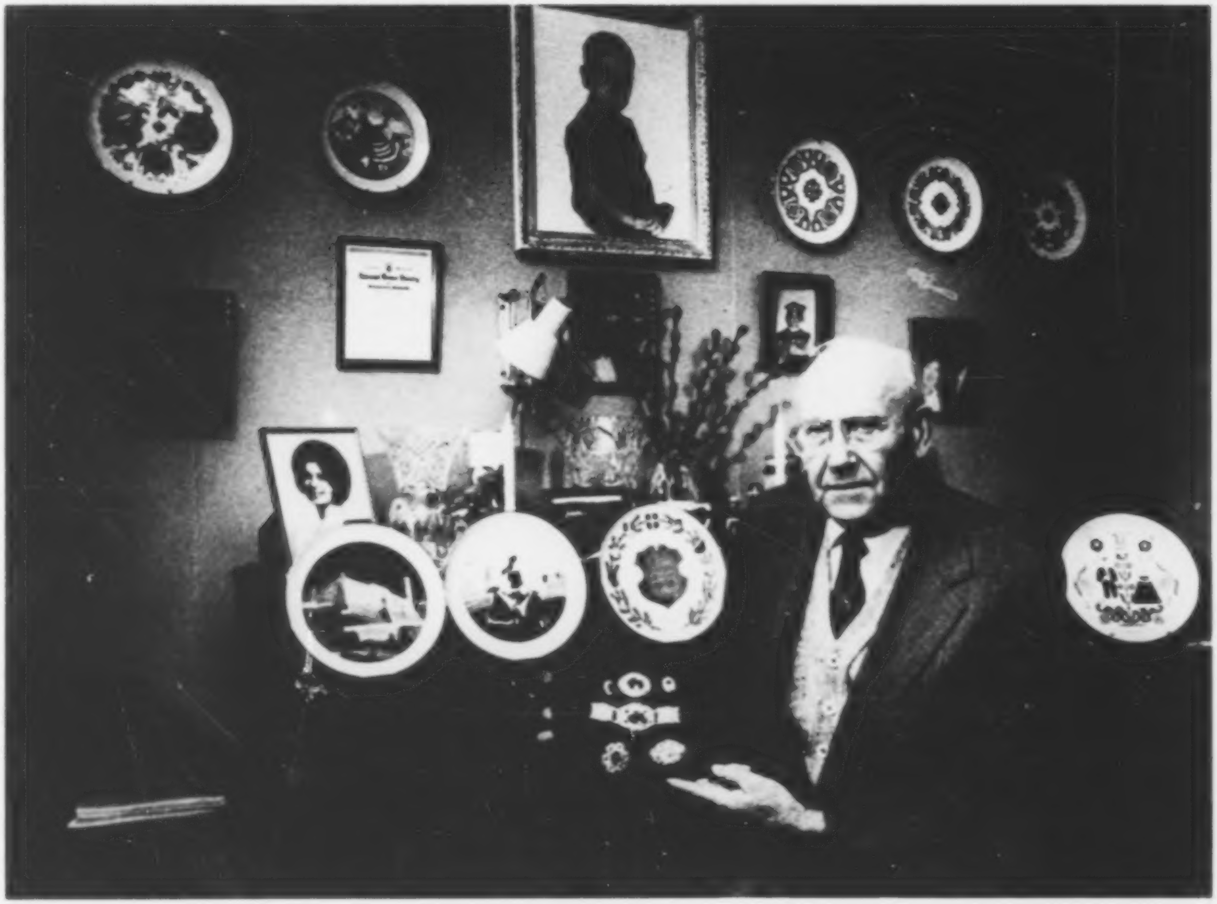
- Assignment: Create a menu plan for four and calculate costs

Prepare for mock auction
- Select and mount pictures of items for sale
- Record registration information on back of items
- Review procedures of a consignment auction
- Develop clerking system form
- Practice bid calls and tongue twisters
- Establish bidding guidelines for mock auction

Conduct mock auction: Third and fourth visits by Licciardello

Demonstrate calculation of commissions
- Display chart of percentage system used at consignment auction
- Review conversion of percentage to decimals
- Review multiplication of decimals
- Demonstrate calculation of commission on chalkboard using figures from mock auction
- Grade students on accuracy of responses

Review and evaluate entire unit
- Use lesson plans to review all unit activities
- Distribute evaluation forms to be completed individually



Adalbert (Al) Torop, with his paintings and filigran (Estonian silver filigree jewelry). Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Adalbert (Al) Torop

Estonian-American Painter and Jewelry Maker

In 1948, when U.S. Public Law 774-80 allowed 205,000 Europeans displaced by World War II to immigrate, Estonian-Americans in New York celebrated with a special church service. In his sermon for the occasion, Reverend Rudolf Kiviranna called up images that bind Estonian-Americans to each other and to their homeland. Reverend Kiviranna imagined a day when Estonians around the world could return to Estonia "where the Baltic Sea restlessly washes the shores, . . . where old farmhouses . . . nestle among white stemmed birch trees."*

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* Portions of this history of the Seabrook Estonian-American community are based on manuscripts by Juhan Kangur.

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Now, those farmsteads exist only in the memories of Estonians. Like much of the culture, they were replaced with Soviet structures after the 1940s when the country was forced into the Soviet Union. As one of the displaced persons liberated by PL 774-80, Adalbert Torop is determined to keep the memory and cultural significance of those farms alive. He has painted scenes of old windmills, historic landmarks, folk dancers, and folk heroes to immortalize aspects of Estonian folklife for future generations.

Torop is one of many cultural conservators in a community that has had to rebuild its social and cultural worlds many times. Traditional arts and memory culture have played an important role in that process. Like the paintings and silver jewelry that Torop makes, the "rya" (woven rugs), "hardanger" (openwork embroidery), painted furniture, and "verivorst" (blood sausage) that Selma Virunurm makes recreate experiences and images for community events and home museums.

Estonia is a small nation (17,500 square miles, 1.5 million people) on the northeast corner of the Baltic Sea, just west of Russia and south of Finland. Along with Latvia and Lithuania to its south, it is one of the Baltic states. However, because of its geography and history, it shares more characteristics with Scandinavian than with Slavic culture. Many of its folkways derive from the hundred years of benevolent Swedish occupation and the country's proximity to Finland. The national epic, *Kalevipoeg*, is a variant of the Finnish *Kalevala*, and adventurous Vikings in their long ships populate lore and image alike. Like those of Hungary and Finland, the Estonian language is part of the Finno-Ugric rather than the Indo-European family.

Yet the condition of political and cultural suppression has perhaps influenced Estonian character and attitudes the most. With a small population and little by way of natural boundaries, Estonia has been dominated since the thirteenth century by Germans, Danes, Swedes, and Russians. Although the German land barons suppressed the "maaravhas" (people of the soil) socially and economically, Estonians suffered most under Russian occupation. The Great Northern War between Sweden and Russia in the early 1700s devastated the land. A plague that followed it decimated the population, leaving only twenty-five thousand people who lived as serfs to the Russians. Alexander II liberated the peasants in 1816, and a national awakening later in the century brought a flowering of interest in traditional Estonian culture as well as the fine arts. Huge festivals of folk song and costume were instituted, involving thousands of residents. Important collections of folklore, including the *Kalevipoeg* epic, were recorded.

Russia responded to these events by instituting a policy of russification that included banning the use of the Estonian language in the schools. But in the chaotic era of its own revolution, Russia loosened its hold on Estonia, and the little nation declared its independence in 1918. By 1920, the Soviet Union had signed a treaty renouncing all rights to Estonia.

For twenty years, Estonians reveled in cultural liberty. The music fests that had begun in 1869 became a national tradition. But when Germany and the Soviet Union signed the Ribbentrop-Molotov Treaty of 1939, the Soviets swept into the Baltic countries again, this time establishing Communist states. Military bases were set up, farms were collectivized, officials were arrested and deported.

As terrible as these events were, it was the events of June 13, 1941, that galvanized the people against living with the Soviet regime. During the night, more than ten thousand people were routed from their homes and sent on railroad boxcars to Siberian labor camps.

When the Germans went to war against the Soviet Union, the Soviets fled Estonia, taking thirty thousand Estonian men with them. German occupation was the lesser of the two evils for most Estonians. When the Soviets returned three years later, many Estonians decided to leave their homeland.

Most left with nothing, and many faced severe hardship in their exodus. The family of Albert and Else Vilms, with a group of fifty others, spent three weeks walking three hundred miles across mountains to Jena in Germany, from which they were sent to a Baltic camp near Augsburg. Selma and Harald Virunurm escaped by boat. Storms forced them to spend three days on a tiny island in the Gulf of Finland, where the women fed their families a soup prepared from a can of meat, grass, and low saline water. A young, single man, Al Torop left with a loaf of bread and a chunk of ham. He traveled by bike, pedaling six hundred miles, often hiding in barns, forests, and ditches, before finding his family in Germany. Eventually they went to Geislingen near Stuttgart.

After Germany was defeated, the International Refugee Organization oversaw the care of thousands of refugees from the war in Europe. With the aid of the Allies, the IRO set up hundreds of camps and distributed food and clothing. In some cases, whole towns were designated as resettlement camps for Eastern Europeans displaced by the war and the Soviet occupation of Eastern Europe. German residents were often moved from their homes to house the refugees. Geislingen was one such town. Thousands of Estonians were housed there. In nearby Esslingen were six thousand Latvians; in Tübingen, thousands of Lithuanians.

In each town, as well as in the barrackslike displaced persons camps, each nationality group tried to restructure a workable world for its members. Often, refugees set up classes in traditional arts taught by skilled masters. Such schools helped sustain the refugees both culturally and economically. They passed on important and often endangered cultural skills; they helped occupy time for those who were waiting to emigrate to North America and Western Europe; and they produced salable goods that provided some income.

In such a school, Torop began to turn the tragedy of the loss of his home into the triumph of his development as an artist. He began with a class in anatomical drawing, but soon changed to classes in applied arts. He learned to make inlaid wood items, to paint scenes and designs on wooden plates, and to make "filigran," traditional Estonian silver filigree jewelry. American soldiers bought the wooden objects, which Torop often decorated with traditional Estonian motifs. Estonians bought the jewelry.

As the years passed and the expenses of maintaining the camps grew, the United States and other western countries sought to resettle the refugees. Some Estonians settled in West Germany. Others went to Canada, Sweden, Australia, Great Britain, and the United States. Along with the passage of Public Law 774, the United States amended immigration policy to allow for corporate sponsorship of refugees. Thus, a business such as Seabrook Farms could provide the guarantee of work and lodging that was required of every immigrant.

The first Estonians arrived in Seabrook in March 1949. By June there were over one hundred families settled there in the barracks known as "Hoover Village," which had once housed German POWs. They immediately went to work for C. F. Seabrook at pay ranging from 52.5 to 67.5 cents per hour. Usually both husband and wife worked, often on different shifts. Sometimes children helped pick beans after school.

Despite the work schedule, the group quickly developed a sense of community and picked up its age-old struggle to conserve its culture. The Estonians began a Saturday school and established an Estonian Lutheran Church. They formed choral and folk dance groups to perform at Estonian events and for public audiences. They organized festivities for ancient calendrical events such as Midsummer's Eve (Jaanipaev) in June and contemporary national milestones such as Independence Day on February 24. Traditional costume, foodways, and handicrafts took center stage. Selma Virunurm and Al Torop were an important part of this cultural revitalization.

When Torop migrated to Seabrook in 1949 with his father, art was largely displaced by work. Torop worked first at Seabrook Farms and then at Kimble Glass. However, in the evenings he continued to make filigran for Estonians.

Silver filigree, Torop points out, is an international art, a form made by Greeks, Italians, and others. The making of filigran, however, is a part of the evolution of traditional Estonian costume jewelry. Historically, heavy silver chains and large silver brooches known as "sõlg"—usually round and often engraved with Viking symbols—were part of the women's folk costume. They

The Seabrook Estonian Folk Dance Group, circa 1956. Photograph courtesy of Milli Poldma and Juhan Simonson.

were presented to young girls at adolescence, and were worn both to ward off evil spirits and to attract good husbands. Estonians began making filigran in the late nineteenth century and it became a modern analog of the ancient sõlg. Like a tale type, filigran became distinctly Estonian through the incorporation of the "tulip" motif, an important flower shape that appears in Estonian traditional arts, most notably embroidery designs on folk costume. Today, Estonian-American women in New Jersey wear both filigran and the ancient sõlg as symbols of ethnic identity. Much of what they wear was made by Al Torop.

His retirement in 1980 brought Torop into the next stage of his development as a folk artist. Free to pursue his interests, he reached back to his experiences in Europe and wed them to his own aesthetic tastes. He began painting images of Estonia on china plates.

In Germany, Torop had seen the delicate painted china boxes of an Estonian artist. He admired the translucence of china and felt that it would be a better medium for the presentation of his cultural images than canvas, paper, or the wood he had used in Germany. He taught himself to use china paints and found someone to do the necessary four to eight firings of the ceramic.

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Silver chain and sôlg engraved with a Viking ship.
Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

He did not have to search for images, though. They were still vivid and plentiful in his memories. His first painting was of Kalevipoeg, the Estonian epic hero, astride an eagle. Other favorite scenes in his repertoire include folk dancers in the costumes of the different counties, the needlework designs that decorate folk costume, and familiar and beloved scenes in the Estonian collective memory—wooden windmills, mounted atop rocks, that are turned to face the wind; the little Estonian farmstead nestled under birches; and the ancient castle at Tallinn, the capital city. These images provide a touchstone with the past for the immigrants and for new generations. The plates hang in the homes of Estonian-Americans in several states.

Irina Torop, Al Torop's wife, explains the community standards that govern the content of his work:

> *It has to be Estonian. Not like roses. It has to be real Estonian, like the ornamental tulip. A lot of people like the dancers, and picture from Tallinn, with the ancient castle. [His painting of Tallinn] is of a very dark evening. The sky is dark blue. And it's illuminated, and in that light you can see the castle. That's pretty. That's what a lot of people like, who used to live in Tallinn. It's like a memory.*

It is the preservation of those memories that motivates Al Torop. "I leave that for the future Estonians, the Estonians in exile. . . . Because the younger people, they don't know the Estonian motifs. . . . They don't know how the Estonian farm looks. That is the reason I keep them."

The perceived dissolution not only of the past but of the culture gives greater urgency to his role as conservator of culture. Of his paintings of Estonian farms, Torop says,

> *Even now, that is historic, because now there are no Estonian farms at all in Estonia. When Russia took over, they made the collective farms, big farms. They liquidated the little farms. The independent Estonian farm like that—they got ten cows, two horses, a dozen pigs or hogs, twenty-five to thirty sheep, and so on. Yes, that was a one-family farm, but those farms are gone now.*

Torop does not call himself an artist. An artist, he says, is a "college graduate." "I am not an artist, but I do beautiful things." The beautiful things he makes meld the need for individualistic expression with the love of tradition.

Educational Program

In his role as community educator, Al Torop translates the cultural past into a visual language. His "beautiful things" integrate past and present, personal and communal.

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Al Torop shows teacher Andrea Manno and her third-grade students the finished china plate they all helped to paint. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

Andrea Manno, one of the teachers who worked with Torop, sees "translator" as also one of the roles of the professional educator. After interviewing the Torops in preparation for the residency, she knew that her biggest challenge would be to translate for her third-grade students the rather sophisticated concept at the core of Torop's art: the process of encapsulating cultural experience.

Manno identified two important parts of this process in Torop's work: the extraction of important aspects of culture, and their visualization. She chose to build her program around the students' family folklife so that they could experience a similar process as they learned about the Torops. She developed lessons in language arts, social studies, and art.

She began the unit with a globe, a wall map, and the encyclopedia, thus introducing students to the use of maps and basic reference materials as she began building the context for Torop and his art. She pointed out Estonia, traced

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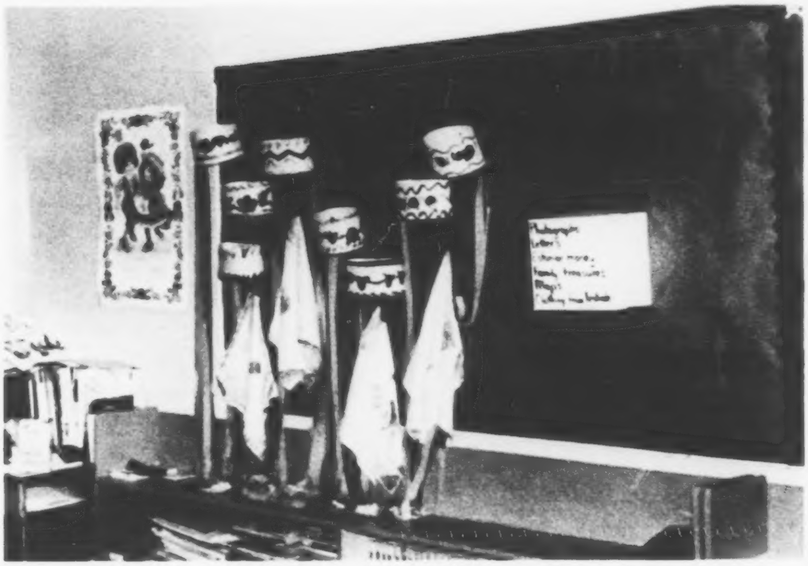
the distance to New Jersey, and helped the students compare the size and geography of the two places.

After highlighting important events in Estonian history, she told the class about Torop's experiences in Europe during and after the war and his migration to the United States. She described and showed pictures of his artwork. Her aim was to prepare her class to see the academic come to life. "I discussed with the children who Mr. Torop was, his life, the highlights, the fascinating things. And now, here he really is! They were ready to meet this man." The Torops also recall that meeting: "The children were all gathered around, and . . . just waited that day until [we] came."

The class met the couple in the lobby of the school. Despite his worry over his accent, Torop had no trouble communicating. He talked with the children about his life and showed them examples of the plates they would help him make. Later, students wrote paragraphs on their impressions of the visit.

Manno structured the following artwork sessions carefully to maintain order and focus. She divided the class in half, one group working on basic painting



Bulletin board created by Andrea Manno for her program on Estonian folk culture. One of the ways that Manno explored the concept of memory culture with her students was by identifying with them the kinds of possessions that carry memories of the past. Some of them might be kept in a special box in a closet, she suggested. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

techniques under her guidance while the other observed and worked with Torop to complete the "class painting." Each student got to help Torop individually with the plate. By the end of the project, each student had created three items: the class plate and two painted ceramic tiles. Manno, Diane Schellack, and Phyllis James, who also created projects with Torop, used the tiles as inexpensive analogs to Torop's china plates. First, Manno's students traced and painted Estonian motifs on tiles. Later, Manno discussed with them the ways that we can recapture the past: through photographs, letters, trips, and movies, for example. She pointed out that, as refugees, the Torops' means of holding the past are limited. Then she encouraged students to talk about things they would want to remember. Later, the children collected family stories reflecting memories of places and events in their own lives. They drew pictures to represent the memories and painted the pictures on the tiles. Like Torop, they had visually encapsulated the past.

Manno reinforced this examination of memory culture through a bulletin board display on Estonian folklife, past and present. To emphasize the changes that have taken place for Estonian-Americans, she first discussed folk events and costumes in the past. Students made replicas of women's headpieces, and she mounted them on the bulletin board under the word "Past." Then she stapled an empty box to the bulletin board under the word "Present." She asked the class to imagine that the box was in the Torops' closet, and that whenever they wanted to talk about Estonia, they would look at the contents of the box. The group developed a list of memorabilia that such a box might contain, and added it to the display.

Manno extended the reflective component of the unit in several ways. While they were learning about the Torops' history, the students traced the scope of the class "family tree" by having each student inscribe a leaf with the name and place of birth of every forebear born in a different place. The finished leaves were mounted on the wall outside the classroom door, above a paper tree trunk and the words "Our Class Family Tree." The completed artwork gave a surprising image of the broad and varied cultural and geographical scope of the class. Some students needed only two or three leaves, so long had their families been in the area. Others needed eight or ten; their families represented waves of immigration. While they learned about filigran and Estonian costume, the students identified their own "special occasion" clothes. And on the final day of the residency, the children wore those clothes for a class festival highlighting their family folklife. They brought in family foodways and regaled the Torops with their family stories and traditions, a charming way of showing what the Torops had helped them learn about themselves.

Curriculum Outline

Developed by Andrea Manno, with Adalbert and Irina Torop, for a third-grade self-contained class at Olivet School in Pittsgrove. Subject areas: Visual Arts, Language Arts, Social Studies

UNIT GOALS

To develop the understanding that groups have distinct cultural identities and that folk artists communicate important aspects of cultural identity

To develop respect for cultural differences

To develop an appreciation for the personal value placed on memories

To develop an appreciation for the skills of the artist

To develop awareness of and appreciation for one's own folkways

SUBJECT-SPECIFIC GOALS

Visual Arts

To transpose designs from one surface to another

To learn techniques of painting on china

To become familiar with diverse artists' tools

To observe and participate in the process of design and decoration

Language Arts

To develop interviewing skills

To improve description and organization in writing

To become familiar with elementary research tools and skills

Social Studies

To develop map skills

To become familiar with Estonian history, geography, language, and culture

To review local genealogy

To learn basic concepts in cultural studies and genres of folklife

UNIT PLAN

- Introduce Estonia
  - Locate Estonia and New Jersey on globe and maps
  - Compare size and geography of Estonia and New Jersey
  - Locate entry on Estonia in encyclopedia
  - List highlights of Estonian history on board
- Prepare for residency
  - Discuss folk artist's background and skills
  - Review question formulation
  - Assignment: Write three questions for the folk artist, to be compiled on 3 × 5 cards
- Introduce Estonian crafts: First visit by Al and Irina Torop
  - Elicit artist's oral history, especially of craftsmanship
  - Display and discuss artwork and jewelry
  - Conduct student interview session with artist and his wife
  - Discuss impressions with students after visit
  - Assignment: Write a paragraph describing today's visit
- Introduce china painting: Second, third, and fourth visits by the Torops
  - Introduce Estonian vocabulary associated with painted china plates and designs
  - Display Estonian patterns for students to choose
  - Demonstrate method of transposing design onto tile
  - Demonstrate tools and techniques for painting on china
  - Supervise students individually in painting a section of the class plate
  - Supervise students in tracing and painting an Estonian design on a ceramic tile
- Demonstrate the making of silver filigran jewelry: Fifth visit by the Torops
- Introduce memory culture
  - Discuss ways of and reasons for recapturing the past
  - Point out importance of memories for refugees
  - Assignment: With parents, identify an important moment in the family's past and discuss reasons for its importance
  - Present these memories to the class

  - Assignment: Draw a picture that represents this family story
  - Supervise painting of this picture on a ceramic tile
- Introduce folk costume
  - Discuss holiday attire in the United States and list items on board
  - Describe Estonian folk costume and occasions for wearing it
  - Show pictures of ceremonial headpieces and discuss similarities and differences
  - Assist girls in making imitations of headpieces from construction paper and crepe paper for bulletin board and decorating handkerchiefs with Estonian motifs
  - Discuss differences in cultural past and present for Estonian-Americans
  - Assist students in constructing bulletin board on Estonian folklife
- Develop collection of students' family folklife
  - Introduce the concept of the family tree
  - Discuss reasons for constructing a family tree
  - Explain relationship of family foodways and holiday traditions to family tree
  - Assignment: With parents' help, complete handouts on family history and traditions
- Prepare for festival
  - Discuss family foodways
  - Explain effect of Estonian geography on Estonian foodways
  - Describe some Estonian traditional dishes and choose several for preparation for festival
  - Instruct students in appropriate ways of discussing and responding to food differences
  - Plan festival events, including presentation by each student of family story or explanation of family foodways, and presentation of gift and thank-you cards to the Torops
  - Prepare class thank you
  - Assignment: Write a brief presentation about your family folklife for festival
- Present festival for class, Torops, and parents
  - Assignment: Write a paragraph about meeting and working with the Torops

Albert Reeves. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Albert Reeves

Fisherman and Hunter-Guide

AMERICAN HISTORY BOOKS make it clear that rivers built our nation. They brought great explorers inland. They carried in goods to build industries and carried out the products of those industries.

In Cumberland County, Bridgeton and Millville each owes its name and early fortune to the proximity of a river, the Cohansey and the Maurice. The evolution of Bridgeton's name reflects the importance of the river that courses through it. First known as "Cohansey" and "Cohansey Bridge," by the mid-eighteenth century it was called "Bridgetown," in tribute to the structure that enabled commerce to expand on both sides of the river.

Similarly, Millville was at one time called "Shingle Landing." Up and down the Maurice, water wheels powered mills that ground grain and sawed wood, some of it into shingles in what is now Millville. These two cities have been an important part of Cumberland County's history.

However, the official chronicles rarely show us how intricately a river may wind through the lives of small towns and ordinary people. Oral histories, such as that of Albert Reeves of Mauricetown, give us a vivid glimpse of the intimate relationship between a particular place and a particular person.

Reeves's particular place is the sixty-five feet of riverfront that his father, Morton Bernard Reeves, bought from the Vanaman Brothers Boatyard in 1904. During his life, the river has acted as a timepiece, structuring Reeves's seasonal and daily activities, charting the phases and cycles of his life.

The river first brought New England coasting vessels to Mauricetown in the eighteenth century. There they found a well-protected harbor with water deep enough to anchor their ships and plenty of fresh water to replenish their supplies. Eventually, many of the captains of these boats settled in Mauricetown, and the stained glass window in the United Methodist Church there pays tribute to men who lost their lives at sea while plying the coastal trade.

Soon boatyards grew along the river to serve the maritime trades. At Leesburg, Dorchester, and Mauricetown, schooners, coasting vessels, sloops, and smaller craft were built. Oystering and fishing joined shipping as important local industries.

The meadows along the river also provided rich resources. The fertile land was often diked to create riverside farms that provided either all or part of a family's income. The muddier marshes yielded abundant crops of muskrat and turtle that could be harvested in other seasons. The reeds and grasses in those meadows attracted birds that local men could gun for market or guide visiting hunters to.

Well into the twentieth century, all these river-nourished resources were available for men like Reeves to make a living from. "That's right," he concurs.

Mauricetown seen from the Mauricetown Bridge, 1983. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

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"That was the main thing—the river. Oh, I like the river. I'd rather see the river than the land." He has watched the river and its activities for most of his life. Much of what he learned about it came from watching his father and brothers work on it and by working there himself. He learned to fish "by watching, that's all. Watching how he'd handle the net, and how he'd put it in the water."

Reeves and his brothers learned to swim when their father, standing protectively nearby, threw them into the river. He learned to handle a boat as soon as he was "big enough to pick up a pair of oars," and by rowing. "I mean rowing and rowing thousands of miles, not only with the tide but against the tide. That's the one thing I know how to do—row!" He began going out on a boat with his father at an early age, and by the time he was ten, he was helping to fish after school and on Saturdays.

His father had also learned by doing. Born in Buckshutem, just up Silver Run Road toward Millville, Morton Reeves soon came to be known as "Gummy" by the townspeople.

> *'Cause he fished—I guess ever since he was a young man—fished, and, of course, that requires boots. And those days they called them "gumboots." And even though I don't wear them anymore, I still took a liking to gumboots, and I've got a pair out there now, practically new. I've only had them on twice. Didn't need them . . . but I just didn't want to be without boots.*

For Reeves, and his father and brothers before him, gumboots are the essential connection to a lifestyle and an identity. They allow him to navigate in his environment, to exercise his knowledge of it, and to reap its harvest.

The people in the area recognized that identity in another way. They called men who worked the muddy meadows "mudwallopers." The term was used in the area between Mauricetown and Port Norris to denote what others in South Jersey and the Chesapeake area call "progger"—a person who traps in the meadows and fishes in the river. The Mauricetown name more colorfully represents the activity as a skirmish between man and mud that man wins—*if* he "knows his meadows," as Reeves insists he must.

Some might regard the local term "meadow" as a euphemism. Its use became common when much of the muddy riverside was diked, drained, and used as farmland. Scientists call these wetlands "tidal marsh." Their makeup is determined by the periodic flooding of the tide. Mud flats form when sediment is deposited along the shore by the tide. Various kinds of plants and animals may live in these marshes, depending on the salinity of the water and the frequency and duration of submersion. A progger or mudwalloper will know not only the harvestable resources that live in the marsh, but also the locations of the vari-

The late Danny Henderson and Martin Taylor remove "bunkers" (menhaden) from gill nets used to haul seine in River Cove, an area of the Delaware Bay that reaches from Moore's Beach to Egg Island, 1976. Photograph courtesy of Martin Taylor.

ous surfaces he must contend with in his harvesting activities. These may include bare spots, such as "rotten marsh," and "blue mud," a thick, puttylike substance with a bluish cast, which can be treacherous. Reeves learned to identify these types by his experiences with them.

You can see the soft spots. There's some water standing there. The level spots would usually be the softer spots. Once in a while, especially when the water gets over it, it's hard to tell . . . [but] you knew about where it was even when it was under water. You wouldn't go along haphazard. You wouldn't just go along head up and not paying attention. . . . You'd just sort of feel your way along . . . [for] how much the mud's giving. When you get in a soft spot, you're out of luck!

Reeves has been out of luck in the mud a few times. The most serious encounter occurred when he stepped into a hole left by one of the large, boat-mounted shovels that scooped mud from the marshes to create protective dikes for the cultivated meadows along the river. Such holes could be hidden under a deceptive surface layer of mud. Waist-deep in the mud, Reeves called to his brother Morton, who maneuvered their fishing boat close enough for him to pull himself out.

In general, however, Reeves, his father, and his six brothers successfully used their knowledge of the environment to wrest their living from the river and meadows. Their seasonal work cycle moved back and forth between river and meadows like a tide. In winter they trapped muskrats in the meadows. In spring and summer, they fished the river. In fall, they guided visiting sport hunters through the meadows in search of railbirds. Often, these activities overlapped. At other times, they were supplemented by work on county roads, on oysterboats, in boatyards, and on nearby farms.

Though tidal charts are published in area newspapers, people who live near the water learn to figure the tides at an early age, and come to know them as well as people in big cities know bus and train schedules. For a mudwalloper, "high tide slack in spring and summer," when the water is not moving, was the best time to "make a haul" with a seine net. In fall, it signaled that the railbird hunt would soon end.

The weather and the lunar cycle, however, could alter the tide and the schedule. "What makes a big tide," Reeves says, "is the wind in the East and a full moon. And sometimes there's what we call a 'pogee' tide. 'Apogee,' really, but we say 'pogee.' Has to do with the moon and that sort of thing. The pogee tides don't come in very big, and they don't go out very far. They're like a lazy tide. They don't do much." Such tides occur when the moon is at the apogee, or high point, of its cycle. Big tides, however, occur when the moon is at its perigee, or low point. Big tides make good railbird hunting.

Reeves learned to trap from his brother Joe, who was five years older. Mostly he has trapped muskrats, known locally as "marsh bunnies." The legal season for muskrats is December 1 through March 15. However, because the animal's coat thickens in cold weather, many trappers don't start their season until January. They may also end it before March because during mating season the males fight and damage their fur.

Traps are placed in the animals' "runs" (paths of movement), about fifty feet from a muskrat lodge or the three-cornered grass they prefer to eat. Muskrat lodges—mounds of sticks, grass, and mud—dot the meadows. Each trap is marked with a stick, and the trapper checks his traps daily. Reeves would typically go out to set his traps when the tide was approximately one-third of the way down and come in when it was one-third of the way up. He stresses that it is important to know the meadow—how high or low the lodge was and how the tide and weather would affect it.

When a hard freeze would stop this pursuit, the Reeveses would cut ice from the river and pack it with sawdust in a bin in their barn. Before the sale of ice was regulated, they'd sell the ice to other fishermen and use much of it themselves during the summer.

Another important prey of trappers in South Jersey is the snapping turtle. Although most turtles are now trapped in fykes (net traps) from April through October, Reeves recalls probing the mud for them with the straight end of a snapper hook during their winter hibernation. He would identify the location of the creature by the air holes on the surface of the mud, and then use the large hooked end of the probe to hoist the turtle out of the mud by its shell.

The work that occupied the Reeveses most of the year—and that Albert Reeves liked best—was fishing. "I liked that even better than railbirding. There's always something to look for. There's always something to watch."

The fisherman's day often includes the night, for he follows the tide. Reeves would put his gill net out on high tide, sleep four hours as the tide ebbed out, and then go back out to haul the catch in. With two high and two low tides a day, he would rarely get to sleep a full night. Nevertheless, he especially enjoyed night fishing.

You could hear those things in the water. They were about eight inch square, I guess, and about two inches thick, and you'd hear them go "Flop!" Dark! And you're sitting there with your flashlight on the net, and you see him flop—see your net corks flopping. . . . We did quite a lot of night fishing . . . and I like night fishing better. You can have all the lights you want, [and] it's not like fishing in the daytime. Course, you weren't bothered with river traffic at night time. They didn't travel at night.

Like other harvesters of natural resources, Reeves has observed the great cycles of resource abundance and scarcity, and the seasonal and weather-related cycles of animal movement. When he was a young man, rock (striped bass) and shad were abundant in the Maurice River. By the 1970s, the number of rock had dwindled so drastically that restrictions were placed on commercial fishing of them. Today, the shad simply don't come up the river as they used to.

We specialized in shad. Wonderful shad! Some of the greatest shad that you ever saw was right here. And our shad was nicer than anybody else's shad. Now that sounds funny, but when I tell you the rest of it, it won't sound so funny! Now they were on their way up to the head of the river to spawn, and . . . we're about halfway from the mouth of the river to Millville. They went pretty well up toward Millville to spawn, 'cause they like it better up there, the shad do. Sandy bottom . . . they like better for spawning, I guess. And our shad, when they were right along about here . . . they had just developed to the right stage, 'cause the nearer they get to spawning, they get watery.

He recalls a wily buyer from Ocean City who knew this and could tell when the Reeveses had followed the fish too far upriver. "He says, 'Oh, you boys been up the river today toward Millville. You boys been up there, I can tell,' when he cleaned those shad. . . . He would stay here till the last boat got in, to get that last roe. He paid us good for fish, too—twenty-five cents a pound."

The shad came in spring and the Reeveses were ready for them with two-hundred-foot gill nets. They would "make a drift" by letting the net flow out behind the boat as the flood tide moved up the river. Gill nets are so-named because they catch the fish by the gills. They, like other fishing nets, are made of "lease," netting that is sized according to the type of fish being caught. The holes are made large enough for the fish to swim into, but the netting catches its gills and it cannot get out. The fisherman pulls it out by hand as he hauls the net into the boat.

A few times they caught a sturgeon in these nets, but this species had left the Maurice by the thirties. Reeves recalls that it was especially exciting to land one of these large fish. The fish was bled through the tail to avoid polluting the black roe, its highly prized cargo. The roe was rubbed through a wire mesh into a clean wooden bucket to remove the fat and then salted. After several days, the roe was drained in a net and shipped to New York where it was further processed into "Russian" caviar. The Reeves family didn't care much for caviar, and, in fact, often used the roe to bait fish traps.

Another fishing technique, which is no longer legal, was used to catch carp, a vegetarian fish, as they emerged from drainage ditches in the meadows where they go to eat the roots of grasses. A gill net was staked across the entry to the ditch, "fencing" the carp as they swam toward the river.

In the winter, when fish were less active, Reeves and his brothers used fykes to catch fish. A fyke usually consists of a wooden frame and netting with a funnel entry and a closed tail. To catch rock and perch, they used a sixteen-foot fyke and worked from a garvey. The fyke was especially effective for sedentary fish because it moved with the tide, and the garvey—with its wide stern and flat bottom—provided a good platform for two men working abreast.

The garvey is only one of several types of boats that Albert Reeves has worked on. Besides garveys, there have been "bateaus," lapstrake rowboats; schooners, sixty-to-eighty-foot oystering vessels; and railbird boats. He has fished and trapped from bateaus, and he has worked on the middle deck and in the galley of the oystering schooners. But it is the skiff used for railbird gunning that he has valued the most, both for its appealing lines and for its sturdiness in the hunt. The railbird boat is pointed at both ends and has a raised platform at each end, as well. Its proportion and weight must be well balanced so that the guide can push it easily and maintain his balance. Its relatively flat bottom, shallow draft, and pointed ends allow it to cut through the grassy meadows where the sora railbird hides during the day in September and October on its

Railbird gunning on the Maurice River. Ken Camp "pushes" for Gerald Parsons. Photograph by Dennis McDonald. Courtesy of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress.

migration south. The birds stop in the area to feed on a plant that scientists call *Zizania aquatica* and local people call "wild rice" or "wild oats."

The arrival of those tiny fowl in September was the signal for another phase of Reeves's work cycle to begin. As well-to-do hunters from the mid-Atlantic and northeastern states followed the little birds into the meadows, local men who knew those meadows were called on to guide the hunters. For many years, Reeves ran a business providing guides and skiffs for the visitors, and he himself pushed many a railbird boat.

The hunt itself is rather short. It begins about an hour before high tide, and ends as soon as the tide begins to turn, for two reasons. First, the tide-flooded ditches become pathways for the boats, and the bigger the tide, the easier it is to push. Thus, a pusher will avoid a pogee tide. Second, the sora is not a good flier. It hides from intruders in the tall marsh plants and runs, rather than flies, when the tide is down. When the tide is up, however, it has no footing. As the prow of a boat pushes through the grass, the bird "jumps" in a flailing, dipping flight, and becomes a sporting target for the hunter.

Pop always said, "When the tide starts to drop down, you want to get going." Pop always said if you didn't get the birds up while the tide was coming in, you're sure not going to get them when it drops down. 'Cause they know it. They know it immediately, the railbird does. He knows that tide's dropping and he knows he's going to be safe.

For a guide, then, the physical demands of pushing are only part of the task. It also requires much knowledge, a good memory, and quick reflexes.

The hunter stands in the forward part of the boat holding his gun ready. The guide stands on the back platform and guides and propels the boat with a cedar pole or bannister with three cleats on the end. If the boat is poorly proportioned, the pusher's task is much more difficult. Reeves complains of one boat he used. "Too heavy a frame, I guess. And not the right kind of flare. It was top heavy! I don't know how the hell I ever stayed on top of it!"

As the boat glides through the grasses, the pusher must watch out for variations in the height of the marsh and for pieces of floating marsh that might upset or impede the boat's motion. He must also watch for signs of the tiny bird and signal its location for the hunter with a sharp "Mark left" or "Mark right." When the hunter's shot is successful, the pusher must keep his eye on the fallen bird and retrieve it.

Before limits were imposed, Gummy Reeves also gunned railbirds for market. Reeves recalls how his father

would go out there and break some of the reed down and make like a path . . . and as the tide came in, the birds came ahead of it. . . . He'd go there and gather them up. When I was a kid, we'd pick them, put them in containers, and put ice around them and ship them to the Reading Terminal Market in Philadelphia. Get good money for them. Oh, I picked so many railbirds, I was afraid to look one of them in the face!

This comic image is only one expression of familiarity with the creature. Local legend has it that railbirds turn into frogs. The legend explains why one day there will be many railbirds in the meadow, and the next day there will be no railbirds, but there will be many frogs. Such explanations entertain hunters and guides alike and reduce the frustrations of a poor hunt.

Today there are far fewer hunters, guides, and boats along the Maurice because the birds have lost most of their feeding grounds. As drought and rising sea levels cause the salt line to move up the bay, the river water becomes more brackish, and the meadows become salty. Fresh-water plants such as *Zizania aquatica* can no longer be supported, and the meadows are overtaken by salt-water plants such as *Spartina patens* (salt hay) and *Phragmites* (foxtail). Pointing to the bank opposite his house, Reeves recalls,

> *I railbirded right over there. Just go right across the river. It's changed from what it used to be, years ago. It's more brackish, we call it. And all that over there . . . we call it "salt grass"—the railbirds don't like it. And that's one reason we don't have the birds like we used to. We don't have the birds, and we don't have the gunners, and we don't have the pushers. All pretty much all gone.*

That is one of the big changes Albert Reeves has seen. Others signal the shift of environmental use from occupation to recreation. Pleasure boats easily outnumber work boats on the river now. The river itself is now part of the Pinelands National Reserve, and is under consideration by the National Park Service for inclusion in the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System.

There is a new Mauricetown Bridge over the river now, one modern and high enough to let yachts and pleasure boats with flying bridges pass under it. Reeves tended the old bridge day and night for twenty-two years. He saw the comings and goings of people and boats. He saw human comedies and dramas. He saw the river and the town change. With his ready wit, keen memory, and narrative skill, he became a bridgetender of local history for the generations.

Educational Program

Mauricetown is just down the road from Port Elizabeth, where Patricia Cox lives and teaches fourth grade at the Maurice River Township Elementary School. But Cox grew up in Millville, far enough away in miles and mind-set for her to describe herself as "a city slicker from up the road." She chose a residency program with Reeves mainly to help her include local history in the mandated Grade Four instruction in New Jersey history, but saw an additional benefit: *she* would learn more about the community, too. What surprised her was the way her education in local culture unfolded. She began by interviewing Reeves. "And the amazing thing is that, the more I learned about the different types of things that he had been doing, the more I learned about the community from the children." As she prepared her students to meet Reeves by talking about his activities, they would often tell her "So-and-so does that, too."

During Reeves's residency, the students were able to converse knowledgeably and comfortably with him about activities such as fishing, trapping, and railbird gunning. Although the residency met curricular goals, Cox feels its greatest benefit was the validation of local culture.

To reinforce this idea that the immediate locale is culturally rich, Cox integrated an abundance of local resources into her program. In addition to Reeves, five Port Elizabeth residents spoke to the students about some aspect of local life. Herbert Vanaman provided a slide presentation on local history. John Donnelley discussed his collection of historical tools and household items. Helen Ottenger described the farming practices of several generations of Camps along the Maurice River. Oliver "Bud" Compton provided instruction in boat and river safety. Christopher Kane conducted a test for pollutants on Maurice River water. In addition, the class visited several local sites. At Bailey's Seafood Market, Artie and John Bailey showed the students fishing equipment and discussed marketing practices. At the Port Elizabeth Library, Cox showed students the resources available for researching local history. At the Spring Garden Boatworks, they observed the tools and techniques of boat repair.

Reeves's residency formed the nucleus of a broad examination of Maurice River Township folklife and history and their connections to the river. Cox began by introducing the students to the concept of folklife through the particularities of Port Elizabeth. After examining the ecology of the river, she focused on the occupations traditionally associated with it, in preparation for Reeves's residency.

Reeves then brought this background information to life with the oral history of his family and their work experiences on the river. In later visits, he described and discussed the techniques of the mudwalloper. Because of a hip problem, Reeves was not able to do an active riverside project with the students, so he worked with them on knot-tying techniques, a critical but easily overlooked skill of any maritime worker.

Classroom activities of the project primarily focused on social studies and language skills, but Cox also required the students to do special projects that ranged from art to science. Some of those she suggested were:

Compile a recipe book from local families
Visit a cemetery, note the oldest stone, the newest stone, various wars represented, and poems and epitaphs
Write a "tall tale" about the Maurice River
Research muskrat trapping
Research the Maurice River's bridges
Make a wooden model of a local skiff
Write about an imaginary trip down the Maurice River in the colonial days

Albert Reeves helps Pat Cox's students tie the types of knots used by fishermen. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

Interview an elderly citizen about life here in the past

Research one particular ship or boat that sailed or was built on the Maurice River

Cox provided many visual reinforcements of the unit in the classroom. Flashcards with maritime vocabulary hung from the ceiling. Posters listed Maurice River Township boats and captains. Pictures of schooners and coasting vessels and maps and scenes of the river decorated bulletin boards. At the front of the room hung a poster quoting John Dos Passos: "In time of change and danger, when there is a quicksand of fear under men's reasoning, a sense of continuity with generations gone before can stretch like a lifeline across the scary present."

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Teacher Pat Cox with her fourth-grade students at the Port Elizabeth Public Library. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Curriculum Outline

Developed by Patricia Cox, with Albert Reeves, for fourth-grade students in a self-contained classroom at Maurice River Township Elementary School, Port Elizabeth. Subject areas: Language Arts, New Jersey Social Studies, Science

UNIT GOALS

To expand understanding of New Jersey history through the study of local culture

To learn that ordinary community members are valuable resource persons who can contribute to our daily lives

To develop awareness and appreciation of folklife along the Maurice River

To develop a sense of pride in one's culture and community

SUBJECT-SPECIFIC GOALS

Language Arts

To develop skills in questioning, note taking, and written and oral reporting

To become familiar with local lore

To practice creative writing by using genres of local lore

To collect jump-rope rhymes

Social Studies

To become familiar with the history of settlement and industry in the Maurice River area and the role of the Maurice River

To identify folk occupations of the area, including tools and techniques

To acquire skills for researching family and community history

Science

To become familiar with the ecosystem of which the Maurice River is part and the changes in it

UNIT PLAN

- Introduce the Maurice River
  - Show film on riverine environments
  - Discuss ecological relationship of man and river
  - Show slides of Maurice River sites, including wooden bridges and ferry slips
  - Conduct follow-up discussion
  - List and use local river terminology
  - Use dictionary to research cognates
  - Show slides of tools used in riverine occupations
- Introduce folklife of the Maurice River area
  - Instruct students in methods of documentation, including use of tape recorder and camera
  - Show slides of early industries, such as shipbuilding, glassmaking, oystering, and rope making: Presentation by Herbert Vanaman
  - Display and discuss various historic tools and household items once used in the area: Presentation by John Donnelley
  - Conduct interview session with guests
- Introduce elements of Port Elizabeth folk culture
  - Show slides of local architecture and sites related to folklore
  - Conduct class discussion
  - Tour seafood market and conduct interview with owners about fishing and marketing tools and techniques
  - Supervise hands-on activity with some of the artifacts
- Explore occupational folklife on the Maurice River
  - Assist students in eliciting oral history of folk artist's family: First visit by Albert Reeves
  - Discuss wildlife on the river
  - Document mudwalloper's skills and techniques: fishing, trapping, railbird gunning, knot tying, and decoy making: Second and third visits by Reeves
  - Evaluate changes in the environment
  - Discuss future of the river

- Photograph folk artist
- Conduct follow-up discussion

Investigate ecology of the Maurice River
- Show film on water pollution
- Test Maurice River water for pollutants: Presentation by Christopher Kane
- Assignment: Write results of test as lab report
- Discuss human stewardship of the river and list ways to protect the river
- Learn water safety practices: Presentation by Oliver "Bud" Compton
- Show filmstrip on waterfowl
- Discuss changes in railbird habitat

Introduce other occupations of people who live along the Maurice River
- Interview member of multigenerational farming family: Presentation by Helen Ottenger
- Discuss continuity and change in methods and technology
- Assignment: Make a collage of produce grown along the river
- Visit Spring Garden Boatworks: Identify different boat types; compare current tools and skills with historic ones

Develop skills in local history research
- Visit Port Elizabeth Library and locate collections of history books and historical documents
- Visit cemetery at Port Elizabeth United Methodist Church
- Record gravestone information of a single family or identify oldest and newest stones and list area family names
- Assignment: Interview an elderly family member about family history

Conclude unit
- Review major points about Maurice River area history, ecology, and folklife
- Assignment: Create a newspaper or magazine advertisement to encourage visitors to the Maurice River or write an essay beginning "The Maurice River area is special because . . ."

In her curriculum packet, Cox included a list of teachers' resources, a variety of places, people, and agencies that can provide information and assistance for the development of a similar unit of study:

Attic resources: reproductions, antiques, clothes, household items
Paper histories: journals, diaries, transportation forms, logs, documents, maps, photographs, postcards, diplomas, letters
Historical societies
Local industries
Retired teachers
Local historians
Local libraries
Clerk's office for deeds
Local DAR
Parents
Telephone book
Cemeteries
Buildings associated with ethnic groups
Farms and agricultural organizations and suppliers
Monuments, markers, and historical plaques
Newspaper offices
Patriotic organizations
Historical structures

Fenton Anderson and his oyster boat, the *Martha Meerwald*. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Fenton Anderson

Oyster Planter

"I KNEW I WAS going to be an oyster planter from the time I was this high," Fenton Anderson claims. Such early certitude was possible in an environment like Port Norris, New Jersey, when Anderson was born in 1913. Family and community provided the knowledge of the occupation for him to learn as he grew, and the Delaware estuary provided the resources for him to realize his vision of the future. What neither history nor nature could tell him, though, was the changes in both that would occur during his lifetime, which would greatly affect his life as an oyster planter and that of Port Norris as an oystering town.

The dramatic changes in the oystering industry and in Port Norris bring into high relief how closely tied local culture and natural environment can be. Moreover, the role of the indigenous New Jersey oyster schooner in enabling the community to harvest natural resources, and the community's feelings about the boat, reveal that an artifact can be a critical link between the two.

There are extensive oyster beds in the Delaware Bay between the Cohansey to the west and the flats offshore the Maurice to the east. Oysters spawn in the summer, and after several weeks the larva settle to the bottom and attach themselves to a hard substrate such as oyster shells. Locally, this is called a "set." They remain there and grow by sifting food from the water through their gills. Although oysters can tolerate widely varied levels of salinity, their reactions to these variations have helped to shape oystering into a farming operation on Delaware Bay.

In lower salinity levels like those in the upper bay, oysters grow more slowly but are relatively safe from predators, such as the oyster drill, which thrive only in high salinity. Recognizing this, oystermen in the early 1800s began transplanting two-to-three-year-old oysters from these seed beds to planting grounds farther out in the bay where the salinity levels are much higher. There the oysters grow to harvestable size in one or two years more. Since 1957, however, a parasite dubbed "MSX" has been decimating the oyster beds, at first only on the planting grounds, but gradually on the seed beds as well. Msx cripples the oyster's ability to feed. The destruction of the oyster crop has contributed to the demise of a distinct way of life along the bay.

Oysters were an important resource to humans even when Native Americans were the only coastal visitors or seasonal residents. Early European travelers to the region found mounds of oyster shells at Indian encampments. In colonial times, oysters were gathered by hand with rakes and tongs from the decks of small sloops. In the early nineteenth century, the commercial industry began with the introduction of the oyster dredge, a rope mesh bag attached to a wooden cross bar with iron teeth which was dragged along the bottom and hoisted onto the deck filled with oysters.

After the Civil War ended and the railroad came to Bivalve, the industry and region began to boom. The small sloop was displaced by sixty-to-eighty-foot two-masted schooners which were tailored to the task and environment. These wooden schooners, which continue to dominate the New Jersey oyster industry, are wide for their length and sit low in the water. Thus they provide both a stable platform for dredging, raising, and dumping the dredges, and ample on-deck space to carry the piles of oysters. For many years, boatyards along the coast produced hundreds of these schooners, and both their building and their use became a major part of life in the region. In 1899, the legislature created a system of limiting access to state-owned seed beds and leasing planting grounds. The governor appointed nine commissioners with the power to grant leases and determine the time and length of the planting season. By the end of the nineteenth century, over five hundred licensed New Jersey oystering vessels plied the water off Delaware Bay.

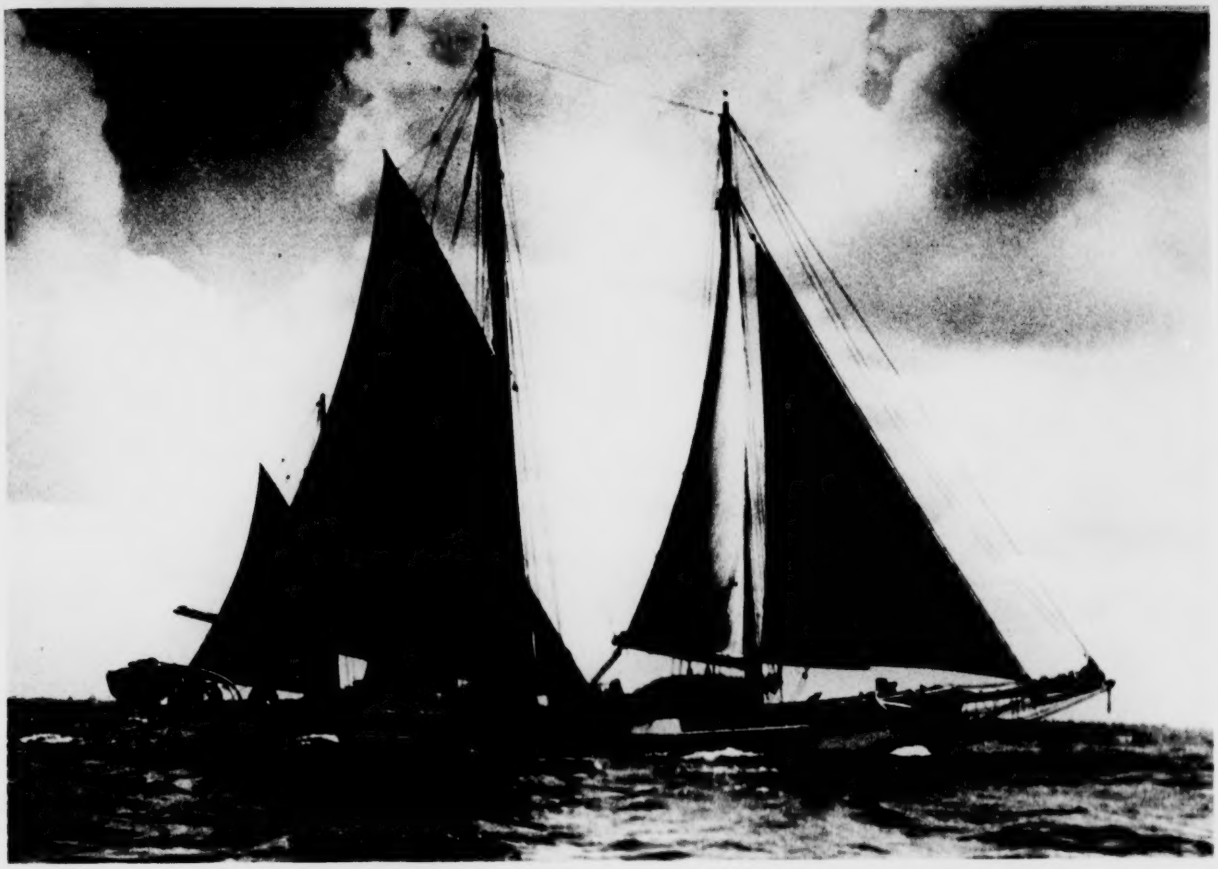
Thus did some New Jersey oystermen officially become "planters." Only with a licensed boat and a lease on grounds could an oysterman become a planter. Generally, they would competitively dredge for seed oysters on the seed beds for several weeks in May and transplant the seed to their leased beds to grow. Then, from September until January, they would dredge up mature oysters and take them to Bivalve for marketing and shipping. During the summer, many oystermen would farm on diked meadows, while others worked in boatyards or hauled freight on their boats.

Good grounds were highly prized and the rights to the leases could be passed from one generation of a family to the next. It was commonly held that when a family decided to sell the rights to a lease, it was a sure indication the grounds were not very productive—so muddy or sandy that the oysters "disappeared." Usually, good grounds could be acquired from another family only when there were no heirs.

Good boats were equally valuable. A captain's reputation was based on the performance of his boat, and vice versa. Both then and now, boats generally were named for family members, and often a captain's name and that of his boat were used interchangeably to refer to each. So it was that the complex interrelationship of nature, industry, and artifact governed folkways in the Port Norris area.

Although most oystermen lived in Port Norris or one of the smaller towns, such as Newport, that lay near the docks, immigrants, residents from as far away as Bridgeton and even Philadelphia, and migrating crews gave the town a cosmopolitan atmosphere. Fenton Anderson recalls that Irishmen would come from Philadelphia to work as crewmen on the boats. The variety of clay pipes that have since been "caught," along with oysters, in the bay attests to the presence of those folk. Scandinavian fishermen would come from Wildwood to work during the oystering season, and other crewmen who annually followed the harvest seasons up the coast from Louisiana to New York would also visit Port Norris. Anderson's father, a Swedish crewman who jumped ship in Biloxi, found his way to the town in that fashion and settled there. During the twenties, when shucking houses opened, the African-American population also began to grow as migrants from Maryland shucking houses eventually settled in the area.

Other businesses shared in and contributed to the prosperity of oystering. At Bivalve, sail lofts, blacksmith shops, grocery stores, butcher shops, and packing and shipping houses took care of the needs of the boats and crews. To accommodate visitors and prosperous residents, Port Norris boasted department stores, automobile agencies, bars, and hotels.



The *Ann E. Yates* under sail, loaded with oysters, circa 1930. Courtesy of the Cumberland County Historical Society.

The life of the town was paced by the industry. Holidays, including Thanksgiving and excepting only Christmas, were observed on Sundays, when oystermen were home. Boat launchings and christenings were major occasions for which the whole town turned out. In late summer, many oystering families made festive outings of their trips to their grounds in the bay to see how the oysters looked.

Knowledge of the industry was passed on informally. Boys as young as seven would accompany their fathers during planting season as soon as school ended. Others would hang around the docks, listening to the tales of seasoned crewmen. Many worked in the boatyards, doing simple tasks like scraping paint and pitch.

The industry and its accoutrements became symbols of identity. Bivalve called itself "the oyster capital of the world," and claimed that "the whole world meets in Bivalve." Upon the death of a captain, the Oystermen's Association would send a floral arrangement shaped like a pilot's wheel with one spoke missing. Even today, a schooner decorates the door of the Port Norris fire engine and the stationery of the Bivalve Packing Company.

Typically, during the planting and harvesting seasons, the boats left Bivalve on Sunday evening or early Monday morning and did not return until Friday evening. Work days could be sixteen hours long, depending on the wind and daylight. When a boat was becalmed, however, a work day might be as short as three hours. During those times, crew members would do upkeep on the vessel.

Every captain was "the old man" and his crew were "the boys." It was the captain's job to handle the boat skillfully and efficiently, keeping the dredges filled with good oysters rather than the mud or debris that careless dredging would yield. A good captain had a mental map of the bay, the grounds, the channels, the hazards. Although oysters are stationary, oystermen customarily speak of "catching" oysters, testimony to the fact that captains, even in the best weather, cannot see or track their prey. So a good captain had expertise not only in sailing—maneuvering the boat back and forth on his bed and no one else's during harvest, and "keeping off" of other boats during planting—but also in remembering and cross-ranging so that he could find his way on both seed beds and planting grounds. Moreover, he needed to be a good businessman, able to conserve in good times and survive in bad times.

Crew members needed strong backs and stolid temperaments for the arduous chores of emptying and throwing back the heavy dredges, and culling the oysters. Culling was done on the middle deck, between the captain at the stern and the oysters on the bow. Culling required working on hands and knees with gloves and a culling iron to separate the debris from the oysters and the oysters from each other. Each time the dredges came up, the crew dumped them, culled the oysters, and threw both the debris and the dredges back over the side. Most young men began working on the middle deck, but aspired to be captain. (See also "Joseph Gibbs, African-American Gospel Singer.")

When a full load had been "caught" on Friday evening, the boats returned to Bivalve, often racing each other to the docks as they sometimes did to the seed beds. At the docks, the oysters were unloaded into "floats," boatlike boxes that allowed the oysters to cleanse themselves and plump up. Scow crews handled the job of counting and floating the oysters, then packing them into barrels for shipping. Once the shucking houses opened, most of the shellfish were sold to packing houses, where they were shucked, packed, and iced for shipping.

Major sets sometimes occur on the oyster beds. Anderson cites the set of

1927 as an indirect cause of a structural change in the traditional clipper-bow schooner. For several years prior to 1927, oystermen had had especially prosperous years. That major set, however, produced seed oysters too immature to harvest, yet promised an abundant harvest the next year. The commissioners voted to hold no planting season, so the planters found themselves with the profits of the previous years and the prospect of an excellent season the next year. Many of them decided to have new, longer boats built in anticipation of the huge harvest. The clipper bow on those ninety-to-one-hundred-foot long boats was rounded to a spoon bow, to accommodate still more oysters.

During the Depression, many oystermen, like other Americans, suffered losses. However, it was another change in the boats that stands as a more significant marker between the two eras of oystering. During World War II, a shortage of men for the crews gave force to a longstanding effort by some oystermen to get the state to remove laws that forbad the use of power on the seed beds. The legislature rescinded the law in 1945, and removal of the sails from the boats became a simple, visible sign of deeper and more widespread changes in the industry and lifestyle. Today, many people believe that the change from sail to power eventually led to the destruction of the beds.

First of all, the work calendar changed. Under power, boats could easily return to Bivalve each day. The long work week ended. Fewer men are needed to run a boat without sails, so the size of the crew also diminished. The use of power simplified dredging dramatically, so that some oystermen describe the operation now as simply "running the boat in circles."

Some believe that this simplicity encouraged overdredging of the beds, which made the oysters susceptible to infestation. In 1957, MSX struck the oyster crop with enough force to change the direction of Port Norris and the oyster industry. It reduced the crop to a fraction of former yields and, although the severity of the destruction has varied over the ensuing years, eventually drove scores of people from the industry and area.

Like Anderson, some people hung on by turning to other endeavors, such as crabbing, to sustain themselves between harvestable crops. Many others, like John DuBois, sold their holdings in the area and found work in other industries. Some packing houses began shucking oysters shipped in from regions such as Connecticut, where there is no adequate work force of shuckers. Still other men formed corporations to maximize their holdings and minimize risk. Nevertheless, most of the oystering businesses that remain are family—or individually—owned.

The invention of the culling machine in 1977 again reduced the size of crews and changed the appearance of the boat. A culling machine consists of tumblers and conveyor belts that take up much of the deck space. With such a

Scow gang counting and packing oysters at Bivalve. From *Under Sail: The Dredgeboats of the Delaware Bay.* Courtesy of the New Jersey State Museum and Donald Rolfs.

machine, an oyster boat can work with as few as three men. Because crops are not large now, most boats go out only a few days a week or on demand.

Although many people mourn the change in appearance of the schooners, once a source of pride and admiration, oystermen are far more concerned about the possibility of losing them entirely in such an economically depressed atmosphere. Maintaining a wooden boat—its license and structure—is costly. Working boats should be "hauled out" for repair and restoration at least once a year, at a possible cost of five to ten thousand dollars. This is difficult when a boat is earning very little money. Because it feels that the preservation of the remaining fleet of sixty to seventy boats is imperative for the preservation of the New Jersey industry, in 1988 the Planters and Packers Association proposed a system that would help produce some income for each boat. Under the system, if there were no spring planting season, in the fall each licensed boat would be allowed to dredge on the seed beds one day per week. This would continue until regular harvests could be resumed.

And many people hope they will return. Scientists at the Rutgers University Oyster Research Laboratory in Bivalve have worked to identify ways to control MSX and to develop MSX-resistant oysters in the lab. In the bay, resis-

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tance in some oysters seems to be developing naturally. Toward that day, some oldtimers hang on, and a dozen or two young men prepare.

Fenton Anderson tries to help them prepare. One recent winter, he let young Captain Todd Reeves use his boat, the *Martha Meerwald*, to dredge for crabs. He is motivated, at least in part, by memories of the oldtimers who encouraged him when he was young:

My boat was laying there doing nothing, and I wasn't going to do anything with it, so I asked him if he wanted to take it. "My lands, yes!" So he won't ever forget that, I'm sure. [And] I never really forgot the Tulip Wescotts and George Conaheys and the Bill Leaches and the ones that helped me.

Those oystermen were prominent teachers in Anderson's informal education in oystering. They helped him acquire experience in the absence of his father, who died when Anderson was sixteen. But his education began long before that when, at age eight, he would accompany his father aboard the family boat, the *Albert G. Mulford*, during planting season. His father would explain:

When you're doing this thing, the oysters are not everywhere. They're in spots here and there . . . and you have to find these things, you see, yourself. *Especially after the main beds were depleted. Then you moved off that, and you'd run into little tiny beds. And you'd have to explore those, more or less. And you could put a buoy overboard, right by the place you wanted to be, if you chose, or you could get ranges on the shore—one up and down this way and one in and out that way. And when they came together, that's where you were. And he'd point out these ranges to me and all this kind of business, you know. That was part of your education—to be able to pick these up real quick.*

For several years after he finished high school, Anderson worked in the scow gangs during harvest and on the middle deck of the *Mulford* during planting. Though it was difficult, he regards that work as an important phase of his preparation for the role of planter.

I think that's the best place to start, too, because you realize, when you become head of the organization, you realize the conditions that your people have to go through, because you've been through it. If you just walk aboard the boat as captain . . . you can't understand what their problems are and try to make things as easy for them as you can. Now the easier you make things for your help, the more successful you're going to be.

At the age of twenty-one, Anderson knew he was ready to be a planter.

Now I knew, I knew *that I was going to be an oyster planter from the time I was this high. . . . My parents had taken out an endowment insurance policy on my* *life for ten cents per week. When I was twenty-one years old, that came due, and it was worth, I think, $125. That winter I had saved up $200 working. Now this is right in the middle of the Depression, and $200 were pretty scarce. But I did that. And I determined that this was it. I had this three hundred and something dollars, a boat, grounds. And so that's what we did. We used the money till it ran out and then went several weeks later and sold the seed to some other planter. And that's how I got started in the thing.*

But getting started was not all there was to learning, and help was not as forthcoming from everyone as it was from Wescott, Leach, and Conahey. There has always been a strong sense of competition in the industry. In those days, older captains didn't want to make it too easy for younger men to take their places, so much of what Anderson knew before he took the wheel had been gleaned from observation aboard the *Mulford.* He vividly recalls his first day.

Of course, I was excited as the devil the first day. . . . When you went to maneuver these boats, catching oysters, you don't go for miles at a time and then come back. You stay right in one little area so you have to shift the boat around so the sails are first on one side of the boat and then they're on the other side of the boat. And when the wind is against the tide, you would turn the boat around so the main sail would go over there with a bang, go over there like a shot. If the wind and tide were the same way, you'd go around head to the wind, and the sails would flutter like that, you see, and just change. But if you went around the other way, the thing would go across and turn like a shot.

First time I did that—of course, I didn't know a whole lot about what I was doing anyway. . . . Well, I didn't do it too good, first time. I thought the mast was gonna fall out! But you do those things for a while, and after a while you learn to do it better.

Along with experience, the friendship of some oldtimers contributed to his education.

I had one old man, who, when I started, was about sixty-five or seventy years. About the age of my grandfather. And he and I used to, what I would say, "buddy up." If he went somewhere to work, I would go there, too. If he saw me somewhere working, he'd come along and the two of us would work together, you know. I thought that was pretty nice, an old man like that and a young boy. And weekends he would tell me things I might not know, and try to help me all he could.

His name was George Conahey. "Tulip" Wescott, for whom Anderson sometimes worked, also helped him, and in a gesture indicative of the paternal relationship, Wescott sold Anderson his grounds when he retired. They are some of the best grounds he has, and Anderson still calls them the "Tulip Grounds."

His boats figure large in Anderson's oral history, and his estimations of them show how highly individual the relationship of man and boat can be. Moreover, all boats are not equal to the task. "There's two classes of boats, as far as I'm concerned. There are oyster boats, and that's it. There are other boats that you can use for oystering. They're not as good as what I call an oyster boat."

When Anderson was young, his stepfather had the *Russell Wingate:* "It was nice as a bugeye, but just can't compare to a schooner. They don't steer good." Anderson preferred the *Albert G. Mulford*, the boat he started on and used for three years. "It was smaller than this one [the *Martha Meerwald*], about as small a schooner as you could get. When you got smaller than that, it was a sloop."

> *I liked the boat. The guy that had it built didn't. So there you go. The fellow that had it built was named Albert G. Mulford, and he never liked the boat. He said it was "tricky." By being tricky, it maybe would heel over too far for him or something. And I know that when we acquired it, the masts on it were a lot shorter than boats of comparable size. So that would lead me to believe that somewhere along the line somebody had had masts on it that were the same as other boats that size and had cut them down—made them shorter. And consequently the sails would be smaller and that would take the trickiness out of her, I guess. But anyway, she suited me fine.*

In 1936, he bought the *Martha Meerwald*, which had been built in Dorchester in 1909. Anderson acknowledges that it would be a "little traumatic" to sell the boat because "I practically grew up with it. You would form your opinion by the operation [of the boat]. If you operate a boat like I did the *Martha Meerwald* for fifty years or more, no other boat could compare to it, even though it might be better! That's opinion—'eye of the beholder,' if you will."

Although Anderson has carefully gathered and used the knowledge of the bay and oystering gained from his experience and that of the community, he maintains an individual stance about the best way to oyster. For instance, the *Martha Meerwald* is the only schooner in the fleet that does not have a culling machine. In his judgment, the machines damage the shells, and he prefers to market for the shell trade. Neither has he added the electronic equipment that others use, preferring to rely on his memory and navigational skills.

That combination of individualism and cultural wisdom has earned Anderson the respect of other oystermen. He has represented them as a governor's appointee to the Shellfisheries Council for thirty years, and when people come to learn about the area, residents quickly send them to Fenton Anderson.

Like Anderson, John DuBois turned "naturally" to the water and its related industries for a livelihood. "What else was there in Dorchester?" a town where most everyone was involved in oystering, boatbuilding, and farming, he asks. His family moved there from Deerfield when he was a young boy, and by the time he was eight years old, DuBois was sweeping up wood chips in the boat yards and fishing from a garvey, building skills that would sustain him through life. Most people, he points out, had to do several things to make a living. Many oystermen farmed during the summer, but DuBois knew at an early age that he preferred boats to tractors.

It was not unusual for a boy to begin working in the boatyard at such a young age. It took years to develop into a master ship's carpenter. These men were highly respected in both the boatyard and the town. Like a master glassblower, they enjoyed high pay and status. Their fine craftsmanship was saved for specific tasks, such as building half-models and carving trailboards. A half-model is a pattern of the proposed ship's hull, built to scale from pieces of wood that fit together horizontally. Every large vessel, such as a schooner or a coasting vessel, began with the construction of a half-model. Because of their fine craftsmanship and graceful lines, half-models have been prized as a sort of artwork. Many families displayed the half-model of their boat on a parlor wall, and today they are collectors' items.

Trailboards, the nameplates that were attached to the bowsprit when the boats were under sail, were usually elaborately decorated with chip-carving. They enhanced the appearance of the boat, and after they were removed along with the sails when the fleet was converted to power, they joined half-models as emblems of past craftsmanship and lost elegance.

Although the hulls of many boats were similar, DuBois recalls that boat owners were a competitive lot who often tried to outdo each other in the size and richness of their boats. They would have their boats built longer or finished more expensively than others to represent their prosperity. This connection was emphasized in the naming of boats. Most boats carried the name of the owner or his family members. The name was seldom changed when a boat was sold, so that today, even though the towns have dwindled and many oystering families have moved out of the region, the remaining fleet recalls the population of the boom era of oystering.

Because the last schooner was built at Dorchester in 1930, DuBois was able to work on only a few of the larger vessels. He recalls that most skill was gained by observation and practice, rather than tutelage, for "the old devils" jealously guarded their knowledge and position. They were not eager for competition from younger craftsmen. Yet, he was able to learn enough to build smaller craft, and today builds replicas of half-models.

As did Anderson, DuBois began working on oyster boats as a member of the crew in the middle deck. He quickly decided, however, that this was the "wrong end of the boat" to be on. By the time he was eighteen, he had earned a captain's license, and he piloted boats for others until he was able to acquire his first boat, the *C. W. and S. Peace*.

For the next thirty years, DuBois oystered, hauled freight, and ferried passengers with his boats. Around 1942, he bought the property in Mauricetown that had once been the Vanaman Boatyard. He used the old railway there to haul out and repair oyster boats, and also built garveys, bateaus, power boats, and gunning skiffs. After MSX hit and it became more difficult to make a living in oystering, DuBois sold his holdings. Yet he managed to stay on the water by working as a pilot on state boats. He surveyed the coast and checked on water conditions, salinity levels, and contamination.

In recent years, DuBois has been active in preserving the history of the region. His collections of photographs, tools, and tales help keep the glory days alive in memory and testify to the time when Port Norris was indeed the "oyster capital of the world" and the New Jersey fleet was one of the finest.

Children's Educational Program

Two FAIE programs that dealt with oystering were offered through the Cumberland County Library. Boats and Bivalves was a Saturday morning enrichment program for youngsters, and Oystermen of the Delaware Bay an adult continuing education course. Oystering was selected as the topic because of its significance in local history and culture, and because of the abiding interest in it. The library was selected as the site because, according to Susan D'Ottavio, who created the continuing education course and assisted with the enrichment course,

> *library involvement in a program [such as* FAIE*] is a logical part of the twentieth-century role of libraries in their communities. Unlike the stereotype of quiet, academic depositories of the printed word, libraries actually function as educational, cultural, and recreational centers. They are sources of information and creative inspiration for all ages, all educational backgrounds, and all interests.*

Despite the explosion in informational technology, she asserts,

> *the greatest resources for learning are still people. Finding and making available human resources are valuable aspects of library service. Especially in areas such as local lifestyles and customs, the library can serve as a catalyst for learning about regional, ethnic, and indigenous occupational traditions and the people who practice them.*

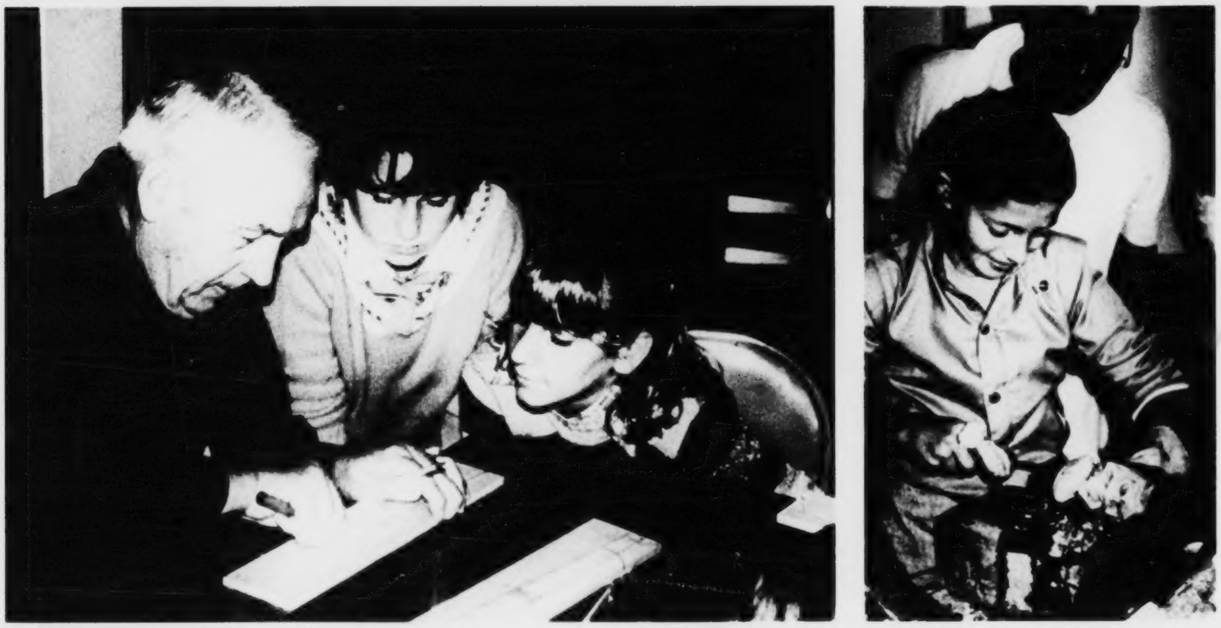
Boats and Bivalves built on that concept of the library. It brought oyster planter Fenton Anderson, former boatbuilder John DuBois, former oyster shucker and boat cook Joseph Gibbs, and former oyster shuckers Beryl Whittington, Evelyn Cisrow, Donald Cisrow, and Sarah Cisrow together with youngsters to document the folklife of oystering.

At the start of the program, each student received a booklet for recording collection activities (see chapter entitled "Program Materials"). It included sections on occupational language, oral history, artifact documentation, and occupational lore, and a research log. Each session of the program included opportunities for the students to complete their collection activities.

The first session introduced students to the topics and the language of the course and to their role in it as budding folklorists. Lifestyles change, the students learned, and so it is important to document them for future generations. Collection activities and methods were explained and groups formed. Students were invited to bring in materials and artifacts for a display. They were encouraged to conduct documentation activities in their own families and neighborhoods by interviewing people who were once involved in oystering.

To stimulate discussion of the oysterman's methods and lifestyle with the resident artists, students were presented with problems and asked to come up with alternative solutions. The ways that different groups solve their problems of living and dealing with the environment are part of their folklife, it was explained. "If your crop of oysters was only retrievable during six months of the year, how could you make a living for the remainder of the year?" they were asked. One student suggested getting a job in a factory, and Captain DuBois then explained that many oystermen worked in the glass houses and machine shops of Cumberland County to round out their work year. Another student suggested living off the land by hunting. Captain Anderson pointed out that many trapped and hunted, but that these activities were primarily "in season" during much of the oyster-dredging season. In the summer, he explained, many oystermen farmed on riverside meadows. The discussion included such problems as how oystermen identify underwater beds of oysters (by marking the corners of the beds with stakes to which brightly colored cloth is tied); how they located good beds before electronic devices were available (by memory and methods such as cross-ranging); and how they deal with the fact that oysters spawn better in fresher water but grow faster in saltier water (by dredging small oysters from seed beds near the mouth of the river and transplanting them to beds farther out in the bay).

During the second session, the class—and many of the parents—visited the docks at Bivalve where Anderson and DuBois had spent so much of their working lives. Standing in a garvey, former oysterman Nerallen Hoffman showed the group how oyster "tongers" collect oysters in shallow beds with long-handled tongs. He pointed out that the garvey, an indigenous work boat with a



During the student-enrichment course Boats and Bivalves at Cumberland County Library in Bridgeton, John DuBois demonstrates the chip-carving technique used to decorate trailboards on schooners. At right, Joe Gibbs watches over Rebecca Henry's efforts at shucking oysters. Photographs by Rita Moonsammy.

flat bottom and low sides, is best for this operation. Then he and George Jenkins took the students through Bivalve Packing Company's shucking and packing house and explained the process of shucking, cleaning, and packing the oysters that are brought into Bivalve by oyster boats. Anderson and DuBois took the group aboard Anderson's Delaware Bay oyster boat, the *Martha Meerwald*, and demonstrated the working of oyster dredges. Students saw the close quarters below deck where the crew slept in the days of sail and noted Anderson's tally of each day's load on the wall of the pilot house. Student photographers took and drew pictures of artifacts and made notes of jargon and lore.

To the third session, Captain DuBois brought part of his collection of boat-building artifacts. Using photographs, he explained that trailboards and quarterboards had adorned every oysterboat during the days of sail and that these were made by the best craftsmen in the boatyard, who also made the half-models.

After discussing naming traditions in the Delaware Bay area, DuBois asked students to think about the names they might give their own boats. Those answers were translated onto miniature quarterboards which students chip-carved under DuBois's tutelage during the next few sessions. This craft activity provided a first-hand experience of the skills and difficulties of carpentry and gave students a chance to "apprentice" to DuBois.

During the seventh session, Joe Gibbs, Beryl Whittington, and the Cisrow-Whittington family visited the group. In addition to demonstrating and helping the students through the simple yet difficult procedure of shucking an oyster, they explained that the African-American community in Port Norris had formed mainly when people from the Chesapeake region migrated to New Jersey to work in shucking houses. Now, they said, you can distinguish a native of Virginia from someone from Maryland by his style of shucking (see the chapter on Joseph Gibbs).

After the group heard descriptions of the severe conditions in the shucking houses before shuckers unionized, they better understood the African-American tradition of singing spirituals and gospel songs in the shucking houses. "When you're cold and you're tired," Joe Gibbs explained, "you begin to sing, and it picks you up." The group sang some of its favorite hymns for the children, many of whom joined in.

The oysters shucked that week became part of the meal the next. Joe Gibbs returned to help students prepare the type of meal he typically made for oyster-boat crews on Mondays. The menu, he explained, was partially determined by folk medicine. Boat crews were reputed to spend their weekends carousing. A meal of "boat stew," with its tomato broth and hearty vegetables, beef, and noodles, helped restore balance to the digestive system and fortify the body for the cold and the hard work. Students crowded the tiny kitchen of the library to peel potatoes, stir pots, record recipes, and watch in amazement as Gibbs formed "flour bread" (biscuits) with a squeeze of his hand. He also prepared oyster fritters and "boat cake."

Anderson and Gibbs joined the group for the meal to conclude their residencies. The following week, students returned to finish their projects, which the Cumberland County Library subsequently displayed.

An Example of Student Documentation

VOCABULARY

Finger stalls: rubber coverings to protect fingers from rough shells
Greenhorn: a new crew member
King post: a post to support the boat
Bushel boats: a small boat with two dredges
Dead eyes: used as a pulley to tighten sails
Fairness of wood: roundness, perfectness of wood
Cook shack (above deck): like a small kitchen
Galley (below deck): like a small kitchen
Cross-range: To locate good spot so you can go back again

RECIPES

Boat cake (2 layer)

First:
- 1 stick of butter
- 1¾ cup sugar
- 3 eggs

Blend with electric blender

Next:
- little shortening or oil
- 3 cups of flour
- 3 tsp. baking powder
- 1 tsp. salt
- lemon extract (as much as desired)
- 2 tsp. vanilla extract
- 1 cup milk
- Mix. Look through batter. Make sure it is thin.

Finally:
- Flour and grease two pans
- Turn oven to 350
- Take out in 45 minutes.

Biscuits

Preheat 450°. Cook till brown.
Makes *many*
6 cups flour
2 tsp. salt
3 heaping tsp. baking powder
Put in shortening until it looks like meal.
Mix with hands.
Put water in until moist.
Knead bread. Wet and flour pan. Pull off bits of batter and put in pan (flatten). Poke holes so it won't explode.

—As told to Michele Conahey by Joseph Gibbs

Adults' Educational Program

Susan D'Ottavio decided to do her FAIE program on oystering after assisting with Boats and Bivalves. When many parents asked if they could attend those sessions, D'Ottavio says, "I realized that it was a wonderful program that grown-ups don't get to go to because they don't go to school—and these programs usually happen in school." The library, on the other hand, is a kind of "grown-ups' school," a resource center for continuing education.

D'Ottavio sees herself as an educator, one whose main goal is to assist people in becoming autonomous learners. Although the library is the source of a broad array of information, patrons must be able to understand and use the system. Believing that the best way to learn is through active involvement, D'Ottavio prefers to involve patrons in the process of finding information they need so that they will acquire both the information and the skill to locate it.

D'Ottavio shaped her FAIE project to encourage participation and interaction. She saw the program as a chance for people to visit places and meet people they didn't usually have access to. All four classes were held "in the field," at Cumberland County Historical Society Pirate House Library, the Dorchester Shipyard, Port Norris Oyster Company, and aboard the *Martha*

Meerwald. There participants could see the environment, handle artifacts, observe technologies, and interact with DuBois, Anderson, and other members of the occupational group. They could hear first-hand about the work and the lifestyle, and the changes that both have undergone.

In preparation for the program, D'Ottavio interviewed DuBois and Anderson and planned the activities with them. Anderson suggested that the course be held during the fall when oystering activities would be in full swing. DuBois suggested various activities and skills that could be demonstrated for the class members, and helped D'Ottavio compile a list of occupational vocabulary. D'Ottavio produced an advertising and registration brochure for the course and distributed it throughout the region. She advertised in South Jersey newspapers and radio, and listed the program in events calendars such as the Holly Shores Girl Scout Council Calendar of Events.

The seventeen people who signed up for the course included both those whose families had been in oystering and those who knew nothing about the historic region. The group included teachers and retirees, couples who were interested in local history, and the education director of a regional environmental institute.

The program began with an introduction to the history of oystering at the Pirate House in Greenwich, where a collection of oystering and shipbuilding tools donated by DuBois is housed. With oral history, artifacts, and photographs, DuBois provided a backdrop for future visits to oystering venues. D'Ottavio provided the students with materials packets which contained an annotated bibliography, occupational and nautical vocabulary, a map of the Delaware Bay oyster-growing areas, an oyster industry annual produce value table (1880–1965), profiles of DuBois and Anderson, a collection of news articles on oystering, and a student evaluation form. She introduced students to documentation techniques that they could use during the program.

The next class was held at Dorchester Shipyard, which has been building and repairing boats for many years. As he led the group through the various shops, Yard Manager Whitey Hiles described the work and how it has changed. The class saw several boat types presently used in the bay, including an oyster boat that had been refitted to dredge for clams, and the nearly completed prototype steel oyster boat.

The following week, the class returned for the christening ceremonies and launching of the new boat, and thus were privileged to participate in a type of occasion that was important in the folklife of the area but that had not taken place for fifty years. They also visited the Rutgers Oyster Research Laboratory at Bivalve to learn what scientists are doing to counteract MSX and revive the industry. Finally, they toured the dock and shucking house of the Port Norris Oyster Company to learn about the marketing practices of the industry.

The program culminated with a trip on the Maurice River aboard the *Martha Meerwald*. Captain Anderson and his First Mate Herb Phillips demonstrated the operations involved in oystering, such as dredging, culling, and cross-ranging. Mrs. Anderson prepared a typical Monday onboard meal of "boat stew."

Says D'Ottavio, "If [the students] had any stereotypes of oystermen and people who make their living from the sea . . . as salty, unlearned individuals, those stereotypes were done away with. Both men are very aware of the past—how things were, and how things are done now, and they're interested in sharing that with other people."

Program Outline

Developed by Susan D'Ottavio, outreach librarian, with Fenton Anderson and John DuBois, for adults in a continuing education course at Cumberland County Library, Bridgeton.

COURSE GOALS

To learn about the folklife of Delaware Bay oystermen through direct contact with oystermen, their environment, and their artifacts

To become familiar with basic methods of documentation

COURSE PLAN

- Provide overview of program
  - Introduce basic concepts in occupational folklife
  - Review course schedule and materials
  - Explain basic documentation methods: photographing, tape recording, interviewing, and sketching
- Explore background of the region and industry
  - Elicit oral history of the region and personal history of John DuBois
  - Discuss changes in the environment and industry
  - View historic photographs of the region and industry
  - Examine artifacts of oystering and boatbuilding, including half-models, boat fittings and equipment, and shipwright's tools at Cumberland County Historical Society Library
- Investigate regional boatbuilding
  - Tour Dorchester Shipyards with Yard Manager Whitey Hiles
  - Identify different boat types at dock
  - Interview boat carpenter regarding changes in methods and skills
  - Discuss relationship between oystering and boatbuilding industries on Delaware Bay
- Investigate marketing branch of oyster industry
  - Tour Port Norris Oyster Company shucking house with Fenton Anderson
  - Discuss changes in marketing and shucking house operations
- Provide overview of scientific research into oystering
  - Tour Rutgers Oyster Research Laboratory
  - Discuss research into MSX with biologist Dan O'Connor
  - Discuss impact of MSX
- Attend christening and launching of the *Robert C. Morgan*
- Survey the work environment and methods of the oystermen
  - Tour the Maurice River aboard the *Martha Meerwald*
  - Interview Captain Fenton Anderson and First Mate Herb Phillips about occupational skills and customs
  - Witness methods of oystering, including dredging, culling, and cross-ranging
  - Discuss effects of weather on operations

Nina Kujdych

Ukrainian-American Embroiderer

Nina Kujdych (left) explains traditional Ukrainian cutwork embroidery to teacher June Rone. In the foreground are "pysanky" painted by Kujdych and her son Roman, and clothing embroidered by Kujdych. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

One day that I remember, lots of people came into the house. First came three uniformed people. Of course, I was little and all. I saw the boots and legs. And then came in lots of people following them. Suddenly people started to take things out of the rooms. . . .

My mother started to beg the people. She said, "Look, it's not my husband's. It's my *dowry. And I'm not from a rich family. . . ." And nobody paid attention. Everybody was just carrying pillows out and covers and knickknacks, and later on furniture—chairs and stuff like that.*

It didn't bother me, but I started to whine, and so my mother picked me up. . . . We had a big wooden clock . . . hanging on the wall in the kitchen. . . . And so everybody used the clock. And it had weights, a pendulum. And as a kid, to entertain myself, I would sit and just watch it—pendulum going back and forth. And I tried to figure out which is "tick" and which is "tack." And I couldn't! And sometimes somebody would come in, and this was high so children couldn't reach it. So it would give me a pleasure [when they would ask] "Do you want to pull the weight up?" So I would pull a little bit, you know.

And finally somebody started to take it down. That's when I understood the

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whole horrible thing. While they were taking pillows and everything, and the sewing machine and the rest of it, it somehow didn't "talk" to me. But he started to take that [clock] and I realized they were taking it forever and that's when I started to cry so hard. And my mother knew there was no way she could prevent it. She talked. She begged.

It's something when people come in and they loot. Nothing stops them. You cannot talk them out, it's my conclusion now. And so my mother took me. She was holding me, crying. She walked out, my brother holding on to her skirt, and that was 1930, early, in the spring.

This is how Nina Biletsky Kujdych remembers the beginning of collectivization in Poltava, Ukraine. Ironically, the scene was both unique and commonplace: unique in the personal pain felt when cherished possessions that were an intimate part of life were carted off by strangers; unique in the shock felt when families with proud histories were made into despised outcasts; unique in the hopelessness felt when basic needs became inaccessible.

Yet the scene was commonplace as landowners were stripped of their holdings and peasants were forced to collectivize in Stalin's effort to increase agricultural production and establish communism. Even Stalin's attempt to dominate Ukraine was but one more chapter, albeit a particularly grievous one, in the long history of foreign control of this rich but vulnerable nation. The Biletsky family history, and Nina Biletsky Kujdych's experiences over the ensuing fifty years, provide a personal telling of Ukrainian history.

The Biletskys trace their lineage to the Cossack ("Kozak") Konstantin Hordiienko, who was a "Koshovyi Otaman" (commander-in-chief) of the important Cossack fortress Zaporozhian Sich. The Cossack heritage is pivotal in Ukrainian identity because this military culture emerged to spearhead the struggle for Ukrainian independence and identity.

Though it was historically one of the largest countries in Europe, Ukraine has few natural boundaries, such as mountains and bodies of water, to protect it from invasion. Its rich natural resources, including the black soil that makes it the "bread basket" of Europe, have been coveted not only by the Russians, but also, over time, by Lithuanians, Poles, Austro-Hungarians, and Germans.

Ukraine was originally the heart of a powerful medieval state called "Rus," or "Kievan Rus." The state encompassed areas that are now Belarus and Russia. Cultural differences eventually distinguished the regions, and political struggles finally separated them into nations. Ukrainian lands were ruled by Lithuania by the fourteenth century, and Poland had taken control of the peasants by the sixteenth century. Some Ukrainian noblemen worked to preserve Ukrainian culture, but much of the country was polonized in the seventeenth century.

To combat political and cultural domination, a group of people (known as Kozaks) who had lived independently on the Ukrainian steppes for over two centuries banded together in the fifteenth century and developed into a formidable force. They built Zaporozhian Sich on the island Khortytsia in the Dnieper River, and perfected their military skills. They used these skills to fight the incursions of the Turks and Tatars in the Black Sea area and the socioeconomic and religious suppression of the Polish landlords. By 1648, the Cossacks had created an autonomous Ukrainian state.

Unfortunately, their rule was brief. War with Poland and Russia resulted in the division of the country at the Dnieper River, with the west dominated by Poland, the east by Russia. By 1775, Zaporozhian Sich was destroyed and the Cossacks dispersed. By the end of the nineteenth century, Ukrainian lands held by Poland became part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Ukraine as a state seemed to have disappeared.

But in the mid-1800s, interest in Ukrainian culture and autonomy surged. Despite cultural and political suppression by the Russians and Austrians, Ukrainian national consciousness grew. The Russian Revolution and World War I released Ukraine from csarist and Austro-Hungarian control, and the nation was independent from 1918 to 1921. But civil strife and war with Poland and the Soviet Union once again made the nation vulnerable. Poland annexed the western region, and the east was made a republic of the Soviet Union. Ukrainian attempts to establish cultural and political autonomy collided with Stalin's drive for total political and social control. During the next thirty years, millions of Ukrainians were executed, exiled, or deported to Siberia. Millions more died in the forced famine of 1932–1933. Sweeping Soviet programs of indoctrination and russification attempted to smother the remnants of Ukrainian culture.

Because they were landowners and had hired help, the Biletsky family came under attack even before 1930. Such people, as well as others who posed a threat to the Soviet government, were labeled "kurkuli," and eventually targeted for liquidation. One uncle's land was seized in 1921. Kujdych's grandfather died after being tortured in 1927. All of the outside inventory of her parents' farm was confiscated in 1929, and her father was arrested. After her mother bought his freedom, he fled to Rostov in the Soviet Union. Soon after, Kujdych's mother was jailed for having helped her husband escape.

And what happened, my mother gave us away. . . . It was against the law to help the kurkul or their children. It doesn't matter how small. So nobody wanted to have us to stay overnight as children. So neighbors or relatives . . . would take us. And I just remember one morning. . . . It was very early and it was very sunny, *and there were two other children playing with me. And all I had—a bundle and a kerchief over my head hanging. . . . So I sat down next to the well, and I opened and I looked at what was inside [the bundle]. It was my Sunday dress, Sunday shoes, Sunday socks in it. . . .*

I was homeless. I didn't know where my father was. I didn't know where my mother was. I just was there playing. In the morning somebody dumped me out, so the authorities would not know that they had me overnight. . . .

They just didn't care who is who, how many children. What they did, for instance, they take a family. There is the husband. Send him to Siberia or they just kill him or he dies because—who cares? They take the woman and children out of her house. They take her into a field or the forest somewhere, and they just dump them. . . . What can you do?

So [one] woman . . . with small children . . . dug a hole. Because was forest not far away, she covered it [with branches]. And they all lived in that big hole. It was a big room, standing room, which was very popular later on. In fact, so many people lived in rooms like that. We called it "zemlianka." Zemlianka is the house underground and covered on top. And they all survived.

Kujdych's maternal grandfather was not a landowner, so her mother was not technically of the kurkul class. The authorities therefore required her to obtain a divorce from her husband in order to be released from prison. Finally, in 1930, the family was reunited in the city of Stalino (now Donetsk) in southeast Ukraine. Kujdych's father worked as a medic in the coal mines. They shared a single large room with four other families, but they had enough to eat. After a while, however, the owner of the house, worried that he would be punished for harboring kurkuli, notified the authorities, and Kujdych's father was arrested again.

One day, my mother told us, "We go to see all arrestanty." It's arrested people in our language. "[They will] be marched by 'etap' (it means 'on foot') to a certain [area] where . . . arrested people . . . will be put on the freight wagons and sent to Siberia." So we waited for them to pass by on a road. And, of course, we didn't recognize my father. He recognized us, and he called my mother's name, and then my mother said, "Do you see? Do you see your daddy?" And it was awful.

There is a film about those days called Harvest of Despair, *and I saw the film. And when I saw those arrested people with the dogs [alongside], it seems to me it was my father's [group]. It was not, but it was just so common to see that sore sight. Those arrested men walking, dusty, dirty, bearded, skinny, dragging . . . their legs were bound with any rags, and they had just jail blankets over them. The dogs on the sides, the dogs in front, and all armed people. . . . Like* *they were . . . criminals*—more *than criminals! But, anyway, they were condemned to die in Siberia.*

Kujdych's mother managed to secure her husband's release, and the family decided to go back to Poltava. But there he was arrested again. This time, Kujdych's mother claimed, it was the Holy Mother of Perpetual Help who secured his release. An official who had freed Biletsky before for a bribe showed up during the interrogation and ordered him to leave Poltava forever.

Back in Stalino, they were allowed to remain for a time in a shack on the property of the man whose room they had rented earlier.

He let us use his shack, where he kept wood and stuff. So we moved into that shack. Of course, my mother swept it nice and clean and arranged the wood and everything that he had there, just to make it sort of cozier. And she started to look for a place to live and you could not find it. There was such an influx of people like us into the Donbas area, into the mines. It's a mining area, coal mines and steel mines.

We found a room. Not a room! It was a . . . stable for one horse, and it was a small stable. And, of course, my mother made it—whitewashed it, and we had straw for a mattress. . . . There was no heat. It was winter.

I took sick. I took so *sick. . . . Malnutrition, cold, not walking. There was no space to walk in that stable. . . . And that's what made me sick—no fresh air, not enough food, not walking, and cold. . . .*

I was told I had typhus. My mother knew better than that. She said, "I'll take care of her. She stays home."

Her mother found a larger stable near the house of a Communist Party member who directed a large supermarket. She obtained his permission to move the family into the stable. The man's sister took pity on Kujdych.

She fed me. They cut my hair. I had lice in my hair, and we had bedbugs in that first stable, and bedbugs just ate me, as much as they wanted. . . . So that lady took me in and says, "OK, I'll keep her." And so she fed me. It was a big house. I could walk. It was nice and warm, and I completely recovered. I started to eat, and just became a kid again.

So what they did, they agreed my mother would rent this stable, and with the permission that she will convert it into a room. She will put a stove into it, just to make a living space.

So I remember, then, because I was helping, it was really cold. It was icy spring when my mother digged out a hole in the ground, and she would put the soil—it was yellow soil, "hlyna," we call it—and straw, and water, bringing in pails from the pump. Every morning she would mix with her feet. Stomp that and *make into [plaster] . . . and finishing up the walls inside. My father put the windows in, and he built a brick oven . . . to heat the room. And we moved in. Boy, that was a castle!*

That fall, famine started. We had moved in in the spring, and my mother made a garden there—nice garden—for the man, for his family. She became very friendly with them, and they liked us very much. We were good children. My mother . . . would bake something, before famine. She would share with these people. And they appreciated it. They would take . . . me in and give me a piece of bread with lots of butter on it. And, of course, I never ate butter since we left home.

So in 1932 . . . famine came in, and it was horrible. My grandmother Hordiienko came from Poltava region to live with us because there was such a raging famine that she would have died. When she came to us, she did not get her ration, never. She was not working. She was old. She was not entitled. So out of our small loaf of bread, for four, we had to give a part to grandmother. It was absolutely—nobody questioned. We had to.

[One day,] my mother brought a slice of bacon. . . . I still have the taste of that bacon! . . . I chewed on the skin for a whole day! It was a luxury. I don't know why she brought bacon home instead of millet.

In the villages, everybody was dying. Everybody. There were not enough people even to bury them. It was . . . absolutely horrible sight. They would come into the city and die on the sidewalks. Just here and there and there and there. Legs swollen, still alive, and condemned because everybody knows they will die. And you just pass by. You are so helpless! You cannot share your six ounces of bread with somebody.

Because religion was at the core of Ukrainian culture, Stalin attempted to destroy both the visible structures of the church and its intangible roots. Rites were forbidden, buildings destroyed, and practitioners punished. More insidiously, children were indoctrinated and turned against their parents.

The government tried to save children in the city. So once there was a nursery, and once a day they gave us a meal, something souplike. Yet we were indoctrinated more than anything in the Communist ideas. Small children. Preschoolers.

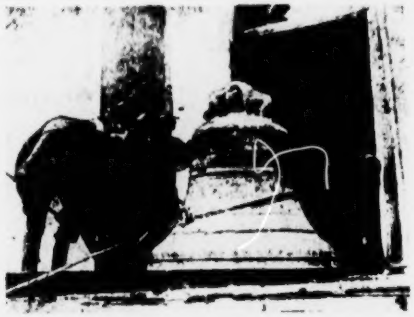
I had to bring my own bread. My . . . five ounces of bread—my mother would put in a white handsewn bag with two strings. Can you imagine? I don't know where she [got] this thread . . . but that bag was embroidered in zigzag here and there. It was always clean, because for the bread. And whoever saw me, twirling and swirling my bag, would admire it. And I thought it was awful nice! I would stand there and I look myself at it.

In that preschool . . . we were indoctrinated . . . in the Communist ideas. For instance, some young women would come in with red kerchiefs [over their hair, *signifying that they were party activists]. And our teacher would put us in twos or fours and then . . . the guest lady would say, "OK, children, who feeds you?" because we all knew we were coming there for food, that one meal at noon. And we children kept looking, shrugging—nothing. So, she said, "OK, do you think that God feeds you?" Some say "Yes," some children don't answer. Then she said, "Repeat after me: God, God, give us some bread." And it's quiet. "So. No bread? No, children. Nyet." Then she says "Tovarishch Stalin dai nam khleba!" Of course . . . we yell "Tovarishch Stalin"—"Give us bread!" Then in comes another young lady with a beautiful tray with doughnuts! And she distributes to all of us. Doughnuts, mind you, and it's famine! How would you believe that God feeds you? Of course, we jumped from joy. "Now, children," she asks, "who feeds you?" We yell "Tovarishch Stalin."*

That's not all. We learned to write. . . . That was before [Orthodox] Christmas, January 7, and it was 1933. . . . We were supposed to write a poster: "We do not celebrate Christmas!" We all learned. All the letters were written out for us, and everybody was supposed to make a poster, come home, and pin it on the wall across the entrance doors. That's an order. . . .

This was the indoctrination of atheism. It was just developing the most. It started in 1930 with the collectivization, and went as long as I lived there—1941, till the war.

So, I came home, of course, rolled it up. I carried [it] so nicely. And I . . . put [it] on the wall across the doors. And my mother came in, and she looked and she read it, and she got red. I didn't know why. Was she angry? But she didn't say anything to me. After a while, well, I pointed it [out] to her. I said, "Do you like it?" She said, "Yes, I like it. It's wonderful. You did a very good job," she says. "But you know . . . we will be celebrating Christmas. Not much, but we still be-



In the process of russifying Ukraine, Stalin dismantled or destroyed hundreds of Ukrainian churches. Here, workers remove the bell from a church in 1930. The metal from such bells was used in the production of tractors by the government. From the Vakym Pavlovsky Collection. Courtesy of the Ukrainian Museum, New York, New York.

lieve in Christmas. Do you think so?" I said, "Yes." She says, "So, it wouldn't be truth to say . . . that we don't celebrate Christmas, and I think we should take it down, because . . . it's a sin to say one thing and to do the other—to say we don't celebrate, and yet you know we will be celebrating." And she talked so nice to me! So, I felt sorry to take my artwork down, but I felt, "She is right." And so she took it off. I don't know what happened to it.

It was constantly, constantly tension in the house, not to talk in my presence. . . . My mother would always tell me. "Please, Ninotchka, don't talk when somebody comes in."

Although such programs may have weakened religious conviction in some, they only strengthened the cultural resolve of others. Folk motifs and practices became powerful symbols of identity and subtle yet effective counterforces to indoctrination.

For instance, Easter. My first pysanka. First, [the government said] you don't do Easter eggs at all. And I learned in the hard way. I was in the first grade and it escaped me, the punishment. It didn't escape another girl who probably was making at home Easter eggs with . . . Soviet ink. It's chemical. You cannot erase or wash out. And so she did dip her eggs, probably, into that ink, and it stayed on her fingers. Lots of it. And, boy, she was in the newspaper! On the wall, caricature of her and of other children who were in school caught. They checked your fingers before Easter. "Did you do any coloring of Easter eggs in ink or any other color?"

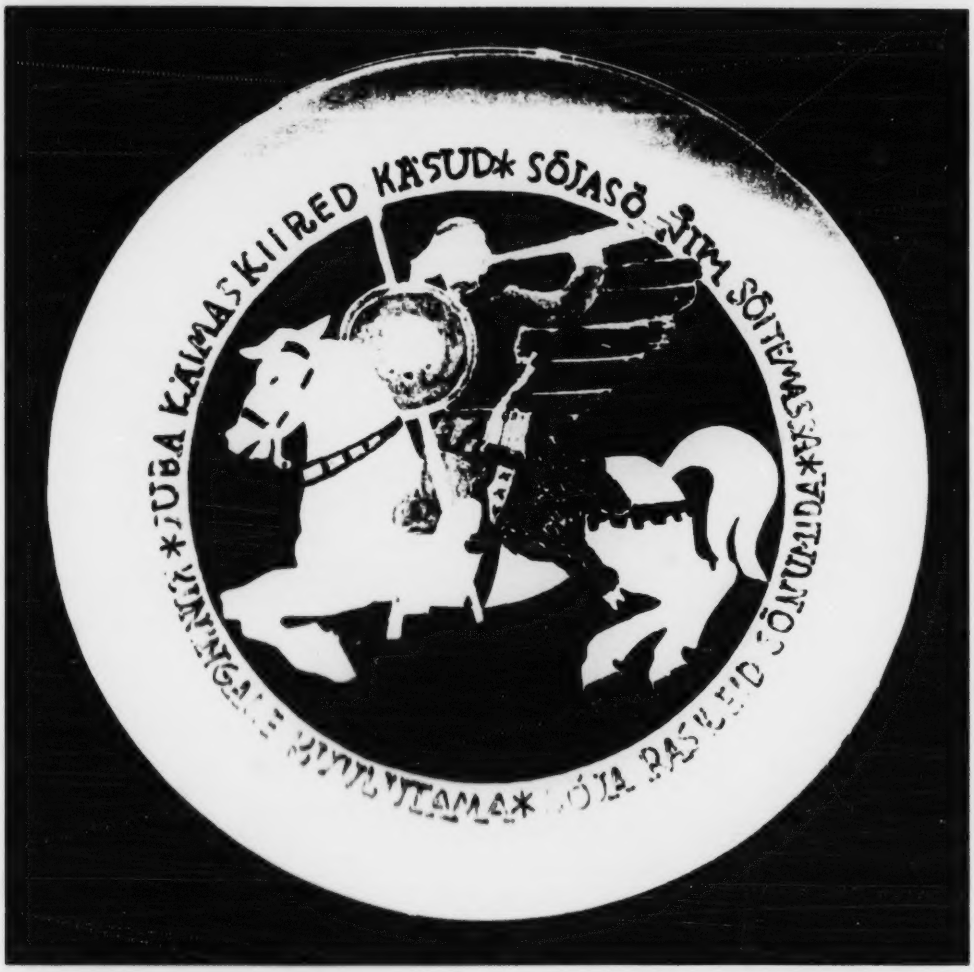
We did in onion. My mother would take the onion skins and boil them and cool. And stay there for twenty-four hours and then put the egg [in]. We didn't have enough eggs. We would make only one egg for each of us.

So I sat there. I was trembling, and I kept my hands under table in school.

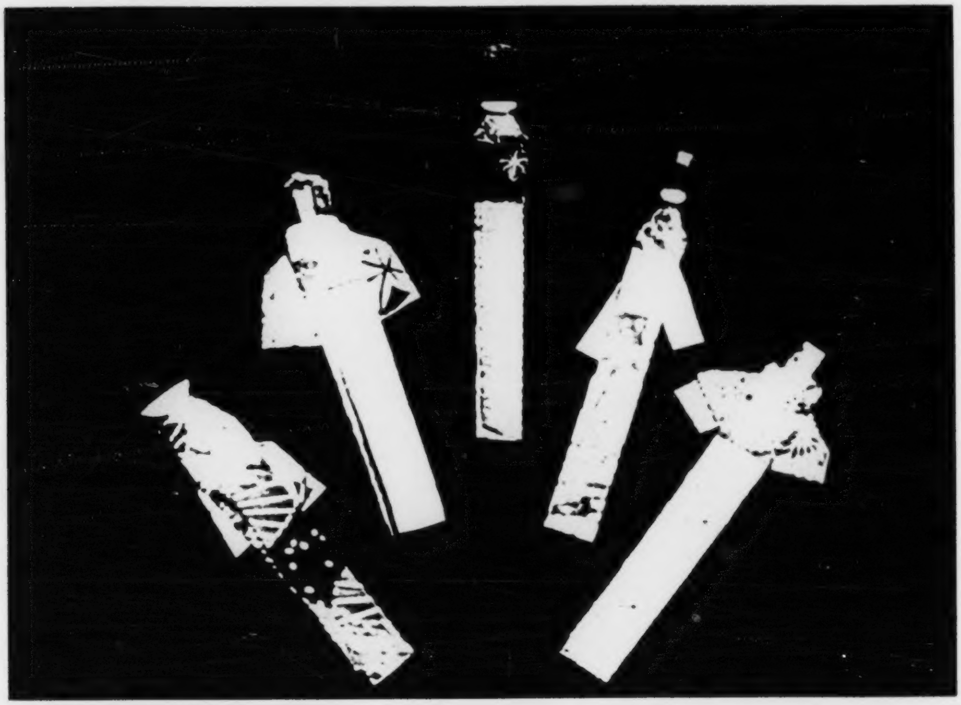
So the next year . . . my mother says, "You know what? Here is a piece of wax." And she made it like this—in a thick stick. And she says, "You know what? If you write 'XB'"—it's abbreviation of "Christos Voskress," "Christ is risen"—"if you make with that stick on your egg, you can dip it in the ink, and you will have the letters." I didn't believe it, but I did it. And to my surprise, of course, I had white letters over blue. . . .

But next year we had two colors already. She said, "Now you can put 'Christos Voskress.'" . . . So I did write it—it was crooked on the egg—with plain stick of wax. And she said, "OK, you put first that egg into onions, wipe it and dry it. And then go over . . . Voskress again with the wax." And so I did go, the way she told me, and we put in blue. So what it was, it was really awful looking, but it was a big surprise to me. I had three colors on my egg! . . . I had "Christos" white. I had partially orange "Voskress," and I had a blue egg.

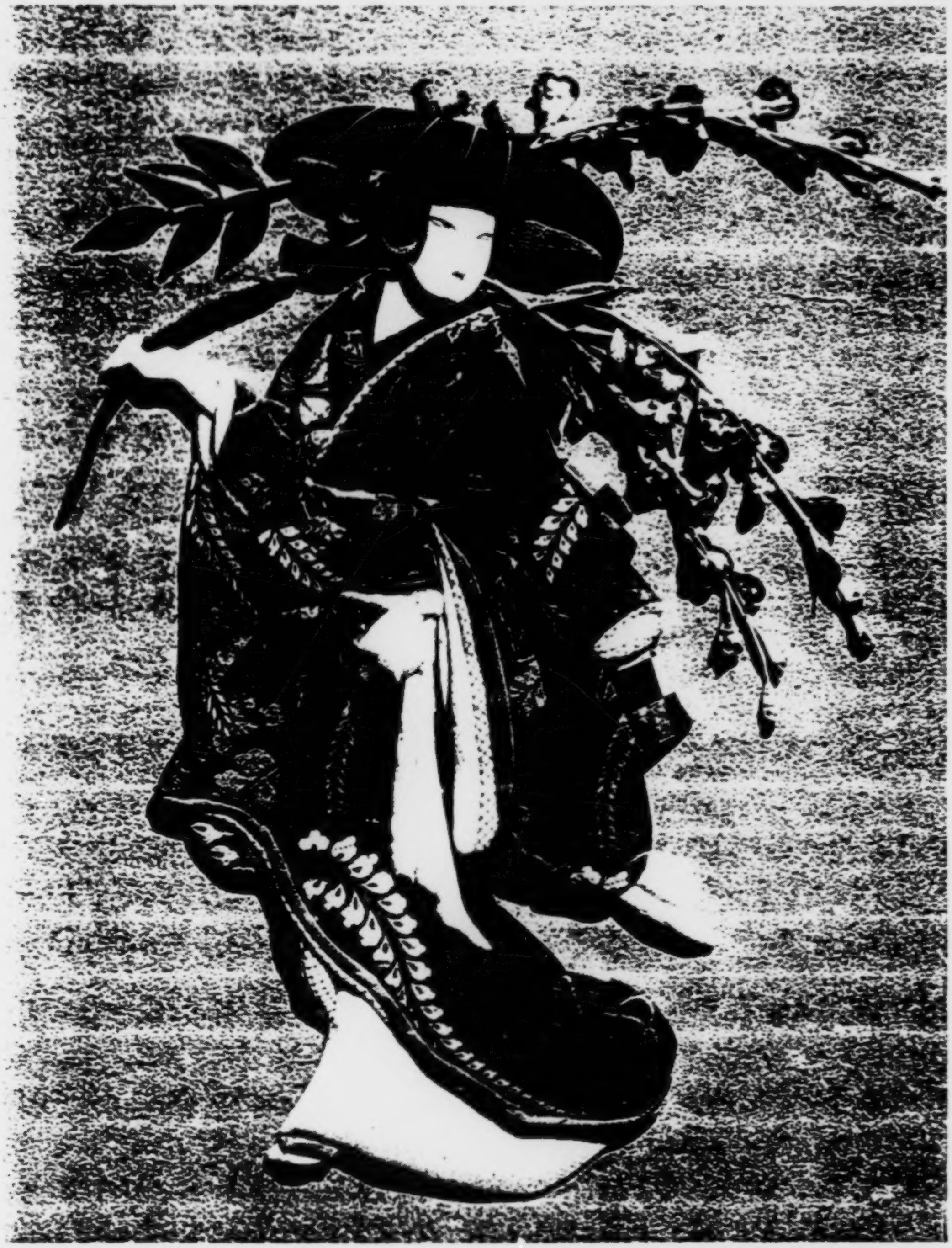
That's how I learned.


JUBA KALMAS KIIRED KÄSUD SÕJASÕ

China plate painted by Adalbert Torop portrays the Estonian mythic hero Kalevipoeg. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.



Mariko Ono's origami bookmarks, fashioned after Japanese dolls in traditional costume. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.



Oshia by Mariko Ono. This traditional art form involves the application of fabric pieces over batting to create three-dimensional pictures. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

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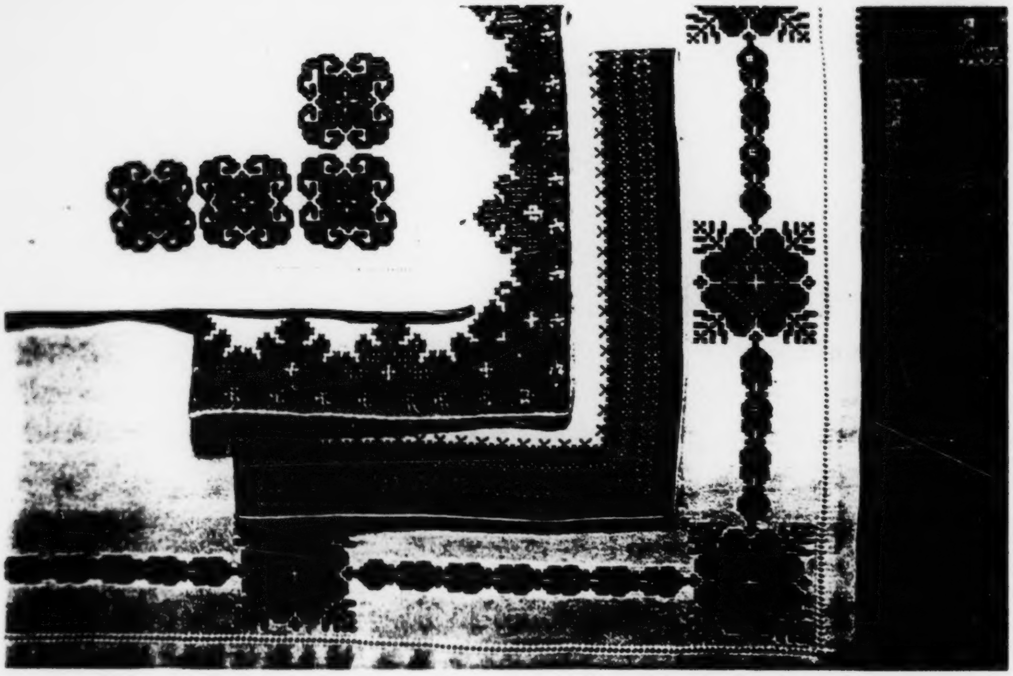
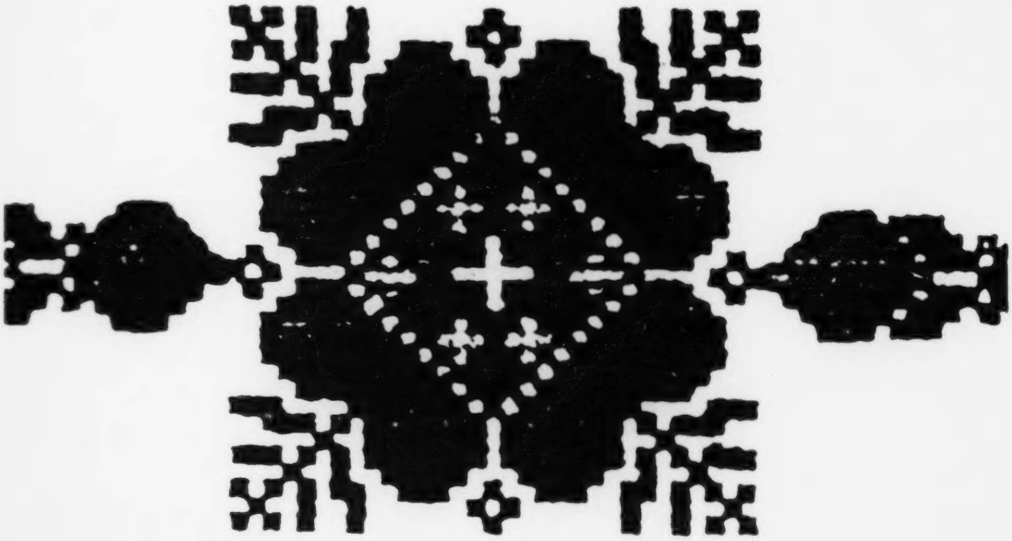
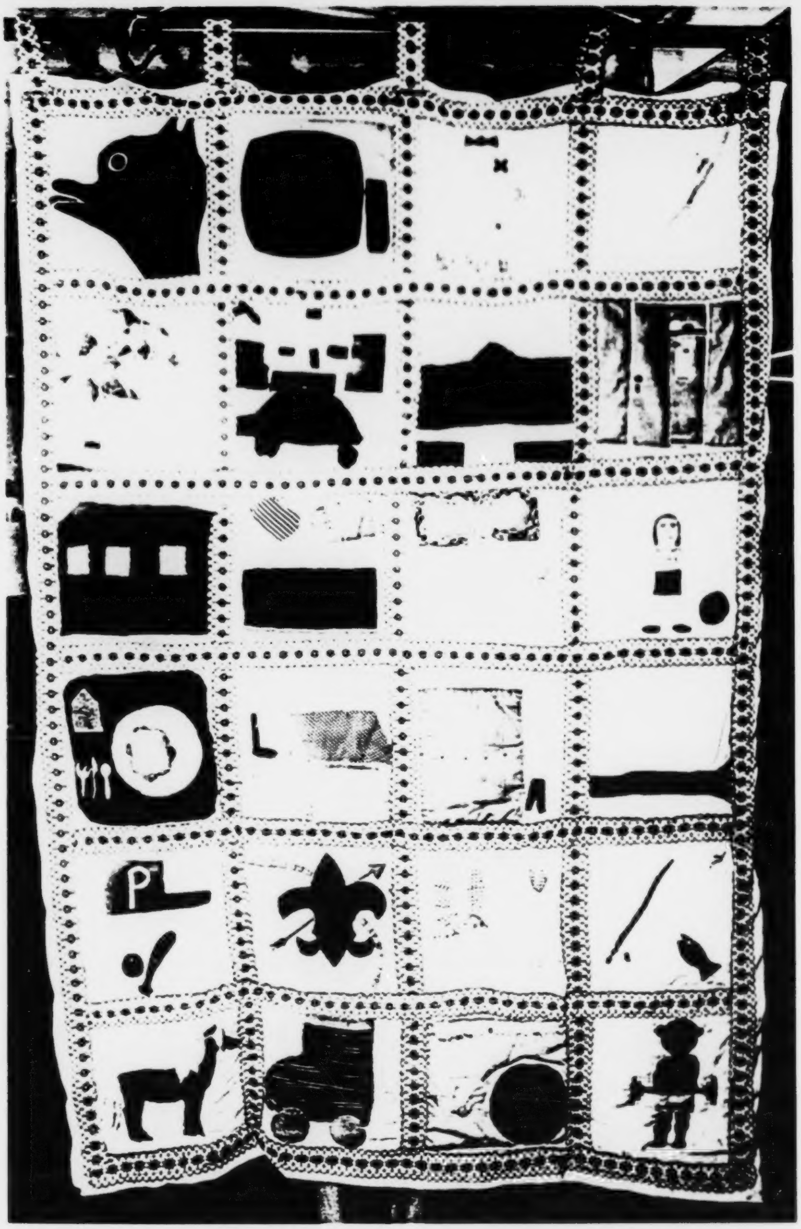


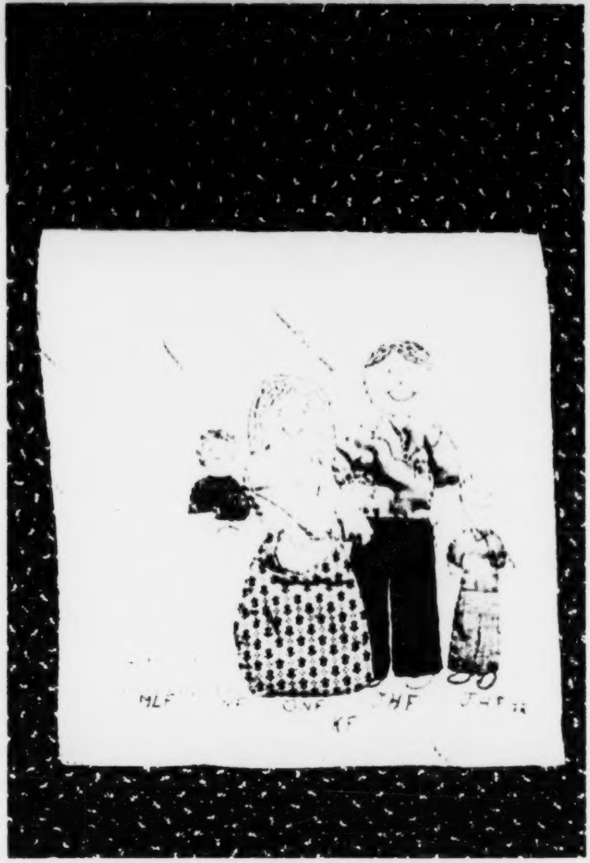
Assortment of linens embroidered by Nina Kujdych in traditional Ukrainian cross-stitch. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.



Detail of traditional Ukrainian embroidery. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.



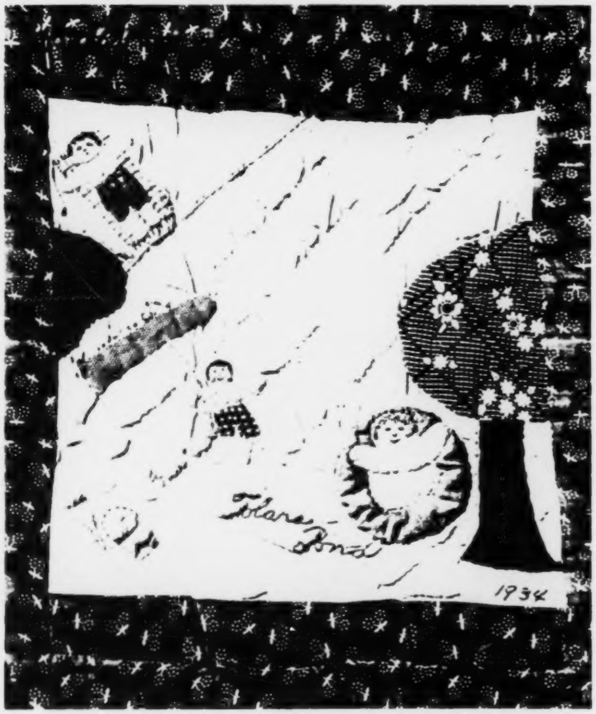
The class quilt created by students of Karen Horwitz during the residency of Olga Fogg. Each square depicts an activity or object that was seen by students as part of their folklife. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

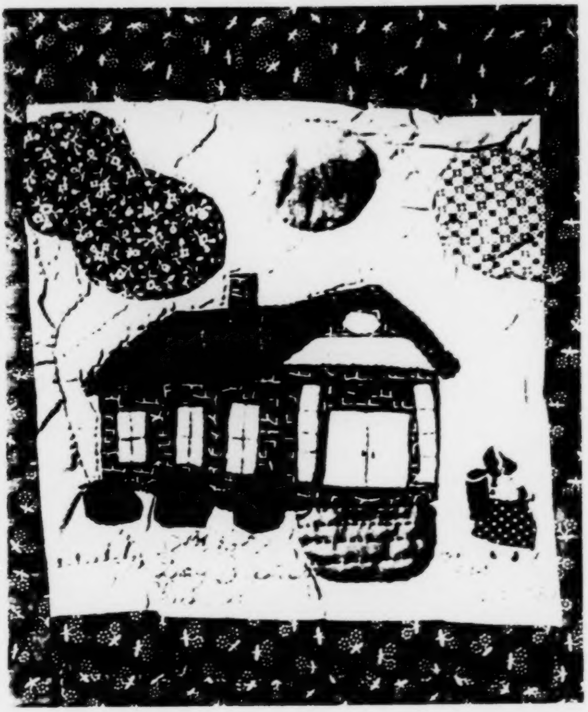


Block number one shows the long
married life
Where Olga and Harold started as
husband and wife.
Times were rough in the year '31
But the farm was a challenge—
Lots of work to be done!
We raised hay, corn, and red tomatoes,
Peppers, livestock, and lots of potatoes.
For raising children, the farm
Proved to be tops.
And they seemed to grow better
Than all of our crops!
The children were healthy, cute, and
Quite wise.
There were two little girls and
Two little boys.

The Fogg family, appliquéd by Olga Fogg on her Fogg family-history quilt. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

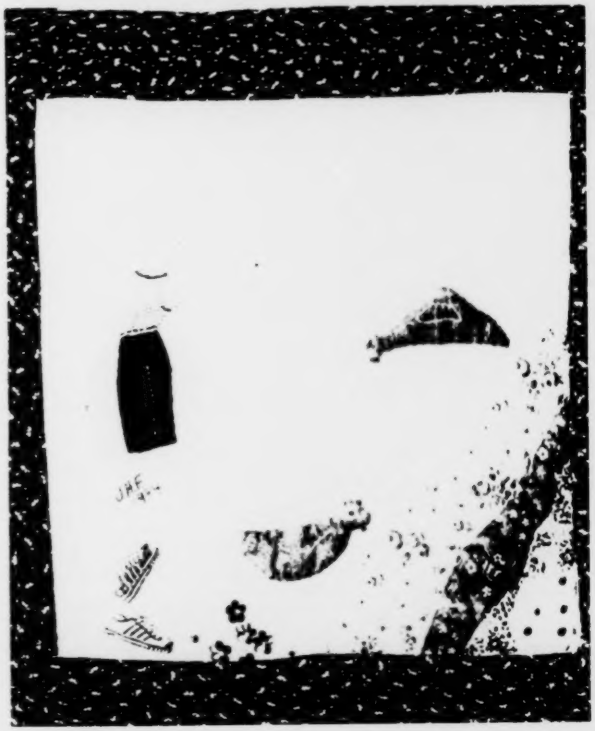
Tolar's Pond, where Shiloh youngsters swam in summer and skated in winter, appliquéd by Olga Fogg on her Shiloh history quilt. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.





The Shiloh Seventh Day Baptist Church, appliqued by Olga Fogg on her Shiloh history quilt. This square also commemorates the inception of the traditional "Easter Party" in 1889. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Olga Fogg's depiction of the "chicken story," a favorite Fogg family story. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.



During the depression our garden was big.
Where Jr. and I weeded, hoed, and did dig.
An uncle named Dell, in the back had his home.
Let the hens out at four—into the garden they'd roam.
Gazing with sadness at our garden's demise,
Jr. picked up a stone—he threw it a piece
It sailed through the air—hit a hen on the head.
Surprised the old biddy and she dropped over dead!
We kept it a secret, and a few days later
Served up that critter with gravy and tater!
We had Dell in to help eat it,
He said, "That's delicious!"
And as far as we know, he was never suspicious!!

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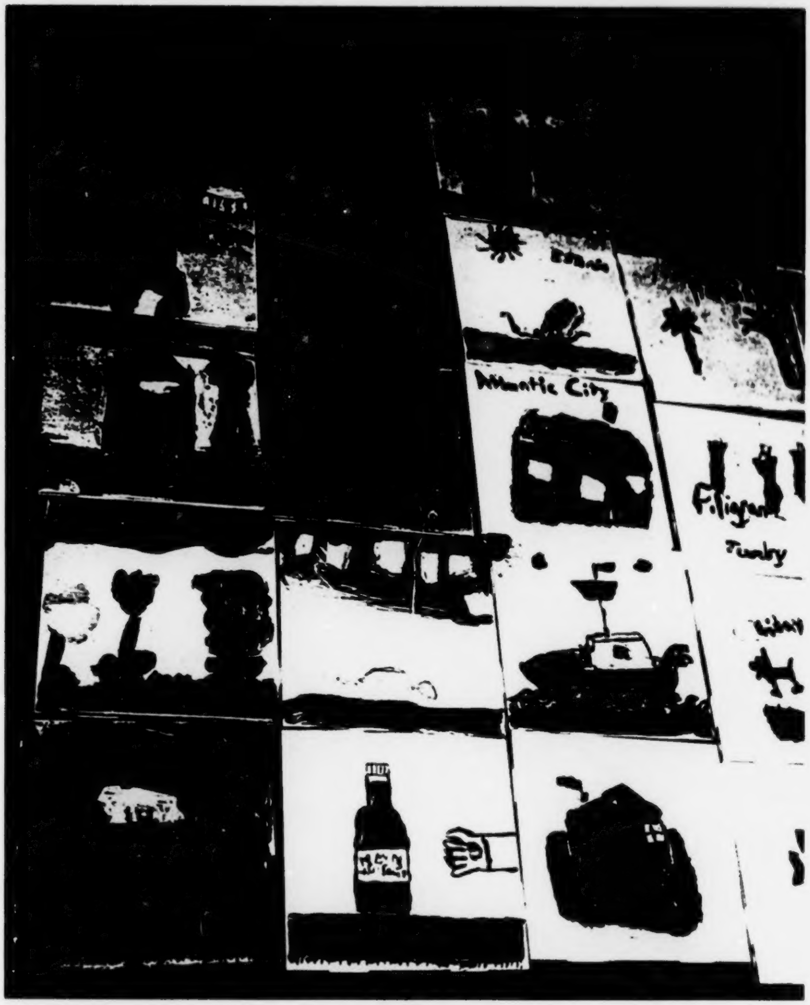
Atlantic City
F. Iiggard
Family

Ceramic tiles painted by third-grade students of Andrea Manno to symbolize their favorite family stories. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

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Kujdych's family survived the forced famine of 1932–1933 on potato peelings and other discards her mother salvaged until she was able to plant a garden five miles from the city in the summer of 1933. They remained in Stalino until the German occupation of Ukraine in 1941. The destruction caused by the fighting around Stalino brought famine again.

The front was not far away. We could hear the cannonades. In the city there was no electricity, no water, no food, nothing! It [was] just ruins. So people who had a chance [left] about six months after occupation. You should have seen the moment! The "chaussers" [cobblestone roads] . . . were filled with people with small wagons on small wheels pulling children on it. Just escaping famine. Going into villages. Just any place so you have grass at least to eat.

Although many people had hoped that the Germans, because they were anti-Communists, would undo some of the Communist programs, the invaders were only interested in the resources they could take from the country. As they did in other countries in Eastern Europe, the Nazis conscripted Ukrainian youths for work in German factories. Kujdych was fourteen, and after her mother had managed to buy her exemption from deportation several times, she decided, "That's it. We're not staying here anymore."

They decided to return once more to Poltava, hopeful that they could reclaim their home.

On our land, in our houses, was collective farm. After they sent Biletskys out, in the old Biletskys' [house], the chairman of the collective farm lived there. In our house was a nursery school for preschoolers. . . . And in my cousin's house were offices for collective farm. And all the buildings and everything was there ready to be used. So they just had brought horses from somebody else. They had all our "inventar," as we called it, for farming. Like plows . . .

When German occupation came in, they did not dissolve the collective farm. It was so convenient for them to have them, that they decided to keep them and let the people work just like they worked during the Soviet regime.

The Germans did, however, allow kurkuli to join the collectives, which the Communist regime had not. The Biletskys became laborers on their own land.

During 1943, the German and Soviet armies pushed each other back and forth across the region, creating chaos. But because Kujdych's brother had been conscripted into the Red Army in 1941, the family did not want to leave the area. Finally Kujdych's father learned that he was on a list of "enemies of the state" targeted for execution. The Biletskys joined a caravan of people walking west, away from the advancing Soviet army. In the spring of 1944, the caravan reached the Dniester River near the Romanian border. However, there was only one bridge in the area, and thousands of people were trying to cross the river, as were German trains.

And those freight trains were carrying nobody but wounded Germans. And my mother stood there . . . and she says, "You know what we will do? I'm sure the Germans . . . are not going to leave their wounded soldiers behind. They will be the first ones to cross the bridge because they will have to be taken into Germany." And she said, "That's what we'll do. We wait till the train moves. And then we hang onto it. And we cross the bridge."

"Well," my father says, "why don't we try to accommodate ourselves between the freight wagons . . . on the bumpers?" I spoke a few words of German . . . and I went and I asked, "Are they going to leave soon?" Somebody told me "not so soon." So it was really dangerous. We went under [the trains]. . . . You had to go under the wagons, and there was always the chance that it just moves, because all the . . . engines were running. So we went under about three times.

Finally, we saw another train with wounded soldiers and I asked, "Are they moving?" And they said, "Yes, they will be moving soon." So we put our bags down on the bumpers. We waited till the train began moving, and when we heard that "click, click, click," we hung on. . . . So we passed across the bridge—to Romania.

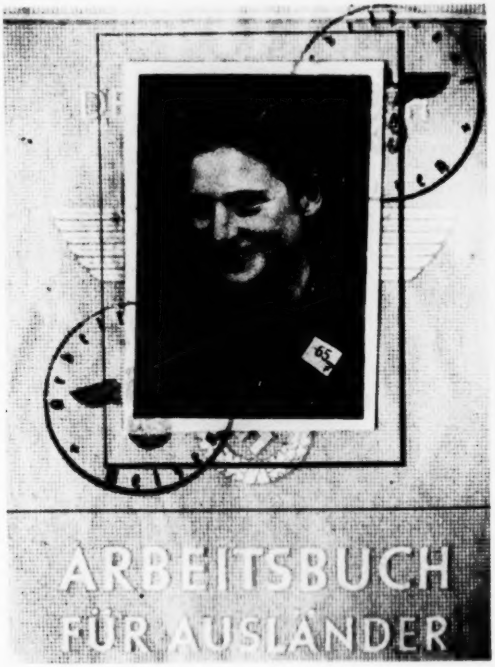
We were bombed. We were bombed so severely on the other side, by Soviets. We got lost, because everybody . . . just ran away. . . . So finally we found each other, and they reformed the train. They got new engine. They took off the burnt wagons, and so we decided to accommodate ourselves a little bit better. . . .

My father got some boards from somewhere. So we put them across the bumpers. We put our belongings there. We could hang our legs down into the hole. And we could support on the wagon, you know—sit comfortably. And we were for three months there. . . .

The people were on top of the train later—on the wagons! Crowded! We didn't care where it was going. It was going away from the front! . . .

So, we celebrate Easter . . . in Romania . . . somewhere in this [Moldavian] area. . . . And lots of Ukrainians live here. They would greet us, and they brought us "pascha" for Easter, for the people on the trains. . . . First they were dressed in embroidery, and they would bring us and give each one an egg, and each one a piece of pascha—delicious white Easter bread. . . . That's how we knew they were Ukrainian. That's when you immediately open your mouth and you speak Ukrainian, not Romanian.

The family spent three months living on the bumpers of the train, which was eventually taken over by the Hungarians. After being loaded onto cattle cars, the refugees were taken to a transit camp for disinfection, and then to



Nina Kujdych's "Arbeitsbuch für Ausländer." Such documents were issued by the Nazi government to Eastern European youths who were conscripted to work in German industries during the war. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Münster, Germany, where they were assigned to work according to their experience.

They started to look, who is who, OK? Who does what. And so my mother talk to us and says, "You know what? We are from Stalino. . . . City people." And my mother says, "No way! We are farmers. *Because I know one thing. If we work on a farm, we dig out a frozen potato out of the ground. But we are not going to starve. We eat it. If we decide to be something else, we will be constantly on the ration, and the ration will be like we had on our way here. And what we are getting here, we are not going to survive. And the bombing—we will be in the city." And, boy! Was she right! That woman! She had the common sense that's not so common.*

And we are no names. We are numbers. Everybody has a number. And the people come in . . . and the farmers just look at the numbers—who they want. They came to interview you. They look at you.

A widowed farm wife chose the Biletskys to help her and four Polish prisoners of war.

And so we were off for work. She gave us a big sheet of material which was printed in "ost, ost, ost, ost." It means on all our clothes we had to put "ost." It means "east." We were without nationality, without names, anything. We are

> *people from the East. And with that sign here you could not leave premises. All Poles had "P" for Pole.*

Kujdych and her parents worked on the farm in Ülzen until the end of the war. In April 1945, the English and Americans invaded the region, and the farm was destroyed in the battle. The next three and a half years were chaotic, as the Allies negotiated the division of Germany and Eastern Europe and millions of people were shifted around the continent. Camps were set up for the displaced from Eastern Europe, and efforts were made to repatriate them. Yet many Eastern Europeans, like the Biletskys, did not want to return to Soviet territory. They feared Communist domination far more than homelessness.

That fear kept the Biletskys on the run for over five years. At first they were sent to a repatriation camp in Salzwedel in the Soviet occupation zone of postwar Germany. There fifty thousand Yugoslavians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Poles, Czechs, Ukrainians, and others waited to be returned to their homelands. The Biletskys were eventually put on a train headed for Ukraine, but they jumped off.

Despite the risks involved in returning, the decision to sever ties with the homeland permanently was not easily made by people who had no resources in the foreign land. Wearied by the struggle, bereft of prospects, many refugees eventually chose to repatriate. Kujdych recalls the words of a young Ukrainian woman who was brutally beaten by Soviet soldiers after she kissed her Polish boyfriend goodbye before boarding their train for Ukraine. Kujdych's parents told the girl, "If we decide to jump, you are welcome to stay with us. We will take care of you."

> *And she kept thinking and thinking. And then she decided, she says, "No. I thank you very much. I have nobody here. I have no relatives whatsoever. All my family is home. And I don't think I want to be in a strange world by myself. And so, I go home."*

Kujdych made a different choice. The trains stopped occasionally to allow the passengers to exercise and relieve themselves. At one stop, as the whistle blew for them to reboard, Kujdych took responsibility for her own and her weary parents' future.

> *So everybody got back in the freight wagon. . . . So I walked over to the wagon, and then I decided—No! I didn't decide. It just [was] Providence decided for me—I'm not getting in. I'm just not getting in. And the train moves, and I'm just numb. Everybody yelling at me, everybody stretching the hands, just to get up. "What are you doing there? Just staying where?" Short sleeve [blouse] and skirt,*

and that's how I am. Not a penny. Nothing. And here I see my parents throwing belongings out. . . . And everybody was grabbing at them. "Where are you going? What are you doing?" they screamed. My mother made a fuss, "My daughter is not here." And she didn't think twice. The door was open . . . and she just "whoosh." So did my father on the other side. . . . They [the others] held onto him. They thought [my parents] were traitors and stuff like that. . . .

So, anyway, I saw them far away, about a quarter-mile away. They were waving to me. . . . Finally, we came together, picked up the belongings. We sat on the railroad. It's a field. Cornfield on one side, nothing else. No buildings. No city. And now we sort of laughed. . . . What now? We had no food even. Nothing.

For two weeks, the family lived in empty train cars, often sharing them with refugees and soldiers walking back home. Finally, they met one of the Polish POWs who had worked with them on the farm in Ülzen, and he suggested they go to a Polish section of the camp in Salzwedel and claim Polish identity. The Polish, because they were considered allies of the English, could not be forcibly repatriated by the Soviets. They had a choice of returning to Poland or moving into the safety of the British zone.

Kujdych had learned some Polish while working with the Polish POWs on the farm in Ülzen, so the Biletskys claimed Polish identity at the camp and were moved to the British zone. Even there, however, they were often pressured by Soviet agents to return to Ukraine.

Somebody told us there is Ukrainian Red Cross camp in Hanover. And so I hang on, onto the train again. . . .

I went to Hanover and . . . I get off the train, and I didn't know where to go. I didn't have much money. I didn't have anything to eat. . . . And I slept in a bunker, under the wall of a former bunker, under the train station. There were lots of people. So was I—just stretching on a plain cement floor, and you sleep.

In the morning, I walked out from the train station and the bunker. And where do I go? Whom do I ask? And then I see a woman, dragging a . . . handmade bag, with handles. And, boy, she was just like from my region, transferred from there and put in here! And I knew she was Ukrainian if there was anything!

And she was walking so fast, and I ran after her and I ran after her and finally I touch her shoulder. And I ask, "Are you Ukrainian?" And she says, "Tak! (Yes)" And I say, "Do you know where there is a camp—Ukrainian camp?" "Tak! I'm from it." And I told her who I am, and she happened to be my close country person from same region, close to our towns and cities there.

So she took me in. I helped her carry what she carried. We came into the camp. She took me to her room. There were eight people in that room, and they took me in. Can you imagine? They gave me a bed on the floor, under the table.

. . . Next morning I looked around. I found out how we can get into the camp, what's all about the camp, what the protection is.

The reconnaissance trip paid off. Soon after Kujdych returned to the Polish camp, the Biletskys were warned that they would be rounded up at night and put on a train for Ukraine if they didn't show up voluntarily for the next scheduled train. They left immediately for Hanover, stowaways on a truck loaded with pipes.

From 1946 to 1950 the family lived in the Ukrainian camp. Barracks were converted to rooms; residents organized work responsibilities; children went, once again, to school. The people experienced cultural freedom for the first time, and, despite their poverty, found ways to practice it. "Where there is a will there is a way," Kujdych says.

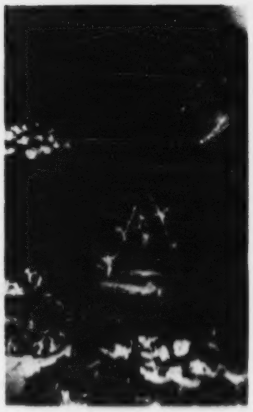
We didn't have material. We didn't have thread. What they did, . . . they would take the [food] bags and sometimes they were . . . muslin, sometimes they were burlap—mostly burlap . . . for potatoes and so on. Women would make beautiful hangings on the wall out of them. They would take the threads out. They would dye them. . . . And then we started to have Ukrainians in America, and they would mail thread. . . . I was in contact with this American family who would correspond with me from the camp. And my first request was to send me nothing but embroidery thread. And they did. And I gave away some, and brought some to America.

Now Kujdych was finally able to live as a young person. She joined youth activities, participated in sports, studied English, and caught up on her education.

In 1950, she was awarded a scholarship to attend an American school. Soon after, the Zaborskyi family, whom the Biletskys had met in the camps and who had already emigrated to the United States, offered to sponsor their immigration. They went to Philadelphia and settled into the large Ukrainian-American community there.

In 1953, Nina Biletsky married Ivan (John) Kujdych. They moved to Vineland, New Jersey, in 1958 and became part of the Ukrainian community that is centered in Millville. "We divide ourselves into two categories," says John Kujdych. "Newcomers and oldcomers. The oldcomers were people who came before the Second World War."

The "oldcomers" came to Millville around the turn of the century to work on farms and in industry. Their reasons for migrating were somewhat different from those of the "newcomers." Most of them had lived in borderline poverty as laborers for foreign landowners in the Ukrainian provinces of the Austro-



Nina Kujdych's mother, the late Marfa (Martha) Luhova Biletska, with some of the traditional Ukrainian wedding breads she made, circa 1956. Courtesy of Nina Kujdych.

Hungarian empire. Many of them moved to the mining areas around Shamoukin, Pennsylvania, and the cities of northern New Jersey. Some of these then settled in Millville.

By the time the newcomers arrived, Millville had a thriving Ukrainian community where language and traditional arts were a vital part of life. The oldcomers welcomed the newcomers, who in turn felt right at home in this cultural milieu.

When we newcomers came in, we just felt "in." They [the earlier group] were so happy. They embraced us. They sponsored us. There were families that would sponsor twenty other families. . . . Sponsorship was a very heavy duty obligation. You'd sign the papers that you have work for them, that you take medical care of them, and that you are responsible for what happens to them.

Although the Ukrainian-American communities provided a supportive environment, the immigrants nevertheless had to develop an identity in the new land. "We were called 'displaced persons.' On my green card it said 'DP,' and that's how we were known. And when we came here we were called 'greenhorns.'"

But the greenhorns provided a fresh infusion of Ukrainian culture. Kujdych's mother helped revive the custom of baking the elaborate Ukrainian wedding breads. Kujdych demonstrated and taught classes in Ukrainian traditional arts. She is often called upon to speak about her native land and culture. Now, her son, Roman, is also an expert in making pysanky, and her daughter, Natalia, loves to embroider. Their artistry provides a happy and fitting denouement to the Biletsky telling of the Ukrainian struggle for cultural identity.

Educational Program

It was appropriate that a project in Ukrainian cross-stitch embroidery was the focal point of Nina Kujdych's residencies. In her own life, important elements of history and culture are condensed in the art form. Because most Ukrainian clothes and linens were made from gray or white linen, Kujdych explains, traditional cross-stitch embroidery became an essential element of decoration.

I constantly had embroidered blouses that [my mother] would find time to stitch, while waiting in a bread line or getting a pair of shoes. We constantly had in the house the embroidered things that she did before she was married even, like a towel for wiping your hands or your face. It was plain white linen, and on it was embroidered, "Good Morning." I still have it! So how can you not like it? My mom would make me a slip. . . . It was made out of cotton, and she would show *me how to do the stitch. And believe me, I still have it! It's all embroidered here. And I felt so proud! In fact, when I put a blouse like this on, I let it show, and everyone says, "Oh, that's pretty!" So [naturally] you like it. . . . It's always part of whatever you have."*

Young girls learned stitches from their mothers, and despite a shortage of time and material, developed their skills. "If you don't have material . . . you take the needle and thread, and you pick up your dress, and you have a white slip underneath . . . and then you just sit and you compose whatever you want."

Later, the stitches could be ripped out and the threads used over again. "That's how many girls did it because there was not enough material to embroider on. It costs money and nobody has the money to buy it."

In the residencies, embroidery also provided a common thread between teacher and artist. Teacher Beatrice Kourtalis is Greek-American. The Byzantine influence in Greek Orthodoxy shapes some of her folk culture in a way similar to Kujdych's. Greek costume and embroidery, Kujdych points out, have much in common with their Ukrainian analogs. More significantly, Kourtalis's involvement in her ethnic community allowed her to understand Kujdych's cultural situation well.

Teacher June Rone, on the other hand, was born to Ukrainian immigrants in Canada. Although she speaks Ukrainian, she did not learn traditional Ukrainian folk arts in her youth. For the residency with Kujdych, she learned cross-stitch and examined her own life for Ukrainian elements. Kujdych and Rone felt that an embroidery project would provide Rone's seventh- and eighth-grade Puerto Rican ESL students with an appealing hands-on activity as well as a vehicle for cross-cultural comparison.

I wanted to wake up awareness in those children what folklore is and how it follows them, coming to the United States. . . . I spoke about our way of living, and our beliefs and holidays. . . . And I asked them to compare and think, what would they share [from] what they have at home similar to what I'm telling them, and believe me! They did have it!

Moreover, the residency provided a way for them to examine the experience they share with Kujdych—that of adapting to another culture. On her first visit, Kujdych made it clear that for her, love of America and maintenance of Ukrainian tradition are both desirable and compatible. Appropriately, her first visit took place on Puerto Rican Patriot's Day. Through cross-cultural comparisons, she helped the students to regard their traditional culture with pride. At the same time, her example made clear the importance of adapting. In her critique of the program, Rone recounts an important exchange between Kujdych and a

Nina Kujdych demonstrates the cross-stitch during her residency with June Rone's seventh-grade English as a Second Language (ESL) students at Memorial Intermediate School in Vineland. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

student. "One of the students asked her how come she learned to speak English so well. She looked at him smilingly and said, 'For survival.' 'Ah, that's true,' said José. 'My mother wants me to learn.'"

A major goal of the unit was to provide a wide range of opportunities for the students to use English. To that end, Rone built lessons in vocabulary, listening, speaking, reading, and writing into every event. As part of their preparation for the residency, the students learned a list of new words. Vocabulary was highlighted, reviewed, and then used in reading assignments and writing exercises.

There were many opportunities for the development of listening and speaking skills. Kujdych introduced the history and culture of Ukraine orally, then engaged the children verbally in comparisons with their culture. Rone followed each of Kujdych's visits with an oral review in which the students did most of the talking. Most visits were also followed by written assignments. Lessons in

UKRAINIAN
FOLK
ART

Display of newspaper articles, Ukrainian embroidery, and June Rone's mother's wedding shawl. Photography by Rita Moonsammy.

following oral and written directions were built into geography lessons with the use of maps and into art activities through instruction in embroidery techniques. Quizzes on content, as well as oral drills, developed skills in sentence construction and formation of cognates. Studies of names and proverbs explored meaning in language.

Both Rone and Kourtalis used presentations of their own ethnic arts to introduce their students to the program. Kourtalis brought a "Tsoureki," an Easter bread made with "mahlep," a spice made from cherry pits, which was introduced into Greek foodways by the Turks. The power and subtlety of cultural traits were made clear to her students, who later documented their own traditions and sketched their international connections on a chart in the classroom.

Rone presented herself to the class on the first day of the program wearing a shawl that had been part of her grandmother's wedding costume. She explained its significance, and then introduced the students to the concepts of "culture" and "ethnicity." They would be learning about another of the cultures that, like their own, are part of the local community, she explained.

On her first visit, Kujdych contextualized the embroidery project with background on Ukraine and her experience migrating. She brought in a variety of folk artwork, including embroidery. The students were shown examples of cross-stitch items that they could create, but they were taught to do the project without a printed design. On later visits, Kujdych explained the history of embroidery, and in discussions with the students compared Ukrainian and Puerto Rican lore and beliefs. Finally Rone and Kujdych divided the class into small groups to practice embroidery stitches and eventually to create their own items. Boys participated as enthusiastically as girls, even to the point of assisting students who had difficulty. By the end of the project, one boy had emblazoned his denim jacket with his name in cross-stitch.

Curriculum Outline

Developed by June Rone, with Nina Kujdych, for seventh- and eighth-grade Spanish-speaking students in an English as a Second Language class at Memorial Intermediate School, Vineland. Subject Areas: Language Arts, Visual Arts, Social Studies

UNIT GOALS

To use English in oral and written form
To develop an understanding of folklife, the process by which traditions continue
To develop the understanding that the local area is made up of many different cultural groups
To develop awareness of one's own cultural identity and how it compares to that of the folk artist
To develop awareness of the process of cultural adaptation

SUBJECT-SPECIFIC GOALS

Language Arts
To develop speaking, listening, writing, reading, and vocabulary skills
To compare Ukrainian and Spanish languages, their sounds and structures

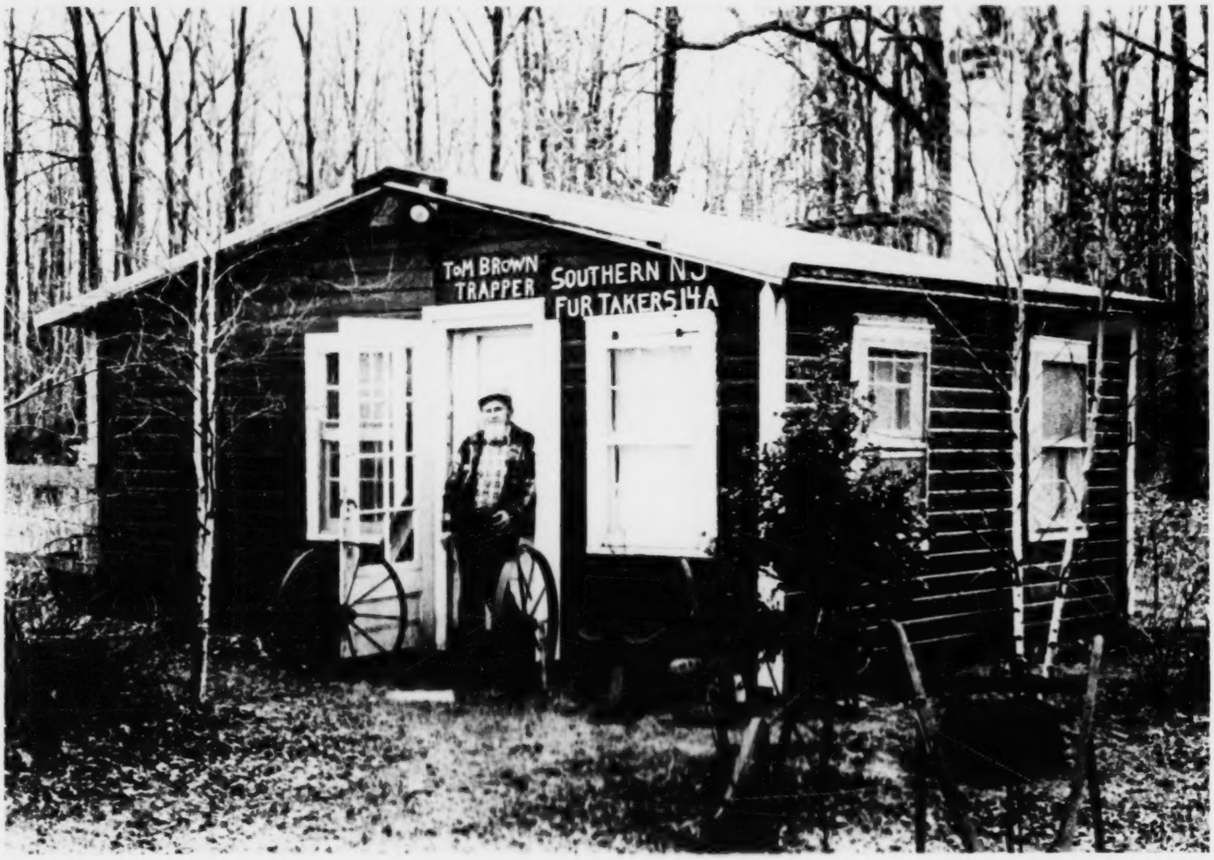
Visual Arts
To develop the understanding that folk art is a form of visual communication
To learn basic techniques of embroidery

Social Studies
To learn about Ukrainian geography, history, and culture
To compare Ukrainian and Puerto Rican traditions
To develop map-reading skills

UNIT PLAN

- Introduce concepts of cultural identity
  - Discuss ethnic makeup of the United States
  - Display and explain significance of folk cultural items in cultural identity
  - Discuss Puerto Rican traditions
  - Identify Ukraine on the map and explain unit topic
  - Define related vocabulary words and conduct oral drill
  - Assignment: Gather information on a proverb, a holiday tradition, or a family custom for oral presentation
- Provide background on Ukraine and introduce Ukrainian folk art: First visit by Nina Kujdych
  - Present Ukrainian history, geography, and culture
  - Describe personal experience in migrating and adapting to a new environment
  - Display and discuss Ukrainian folk art, such as embroidery, carving, costumed dolls, ceramics, and folk costume
  - Play recording of Ukrainian music
- Conduct follow-up session for reinforcement and student self-expression
  - Review visit orally, asking both interpretive and informational questions
  - Distribute written questionnaire on visit for completion in class
  - Provide map worksheet with instructions for reviewing locations of Ukraine and other countries for in-class completion

  - Assignment: Complete map worksheet to identify European capitals
- Compare Ukrainian and Puerto Rican lore and legends: Second visit by Kujdych
  - Define and provide examples of legends and folklore
  - Present examples of Ukrainian folklore
  - Elicit examples of Puerto Rican proverbs, lore, and legends and compare them with Ukrainian examples
  - Assignment: Complete written list of differences between Ukrainian and Puerto Rican folklore
  - Assignment: Complete worksheet on naming traditions and proverb use in your family
- Introduce embroidery: Third and fourth visits by Kujdych
  - Provide brief history of embroidery
  - Display and explain a variety of designs and uses on costume
  - Display samples of projects students will complete
  - Demonstrate basic stitches
  - Divide students into smaller groups and assist them in following directions and doing cross-stitch
  - Instruct students in use of patterns on graph paper for projects
  - Assist students in completing projects
- Conduct follow-up
  - Review orally the background of embroidery
  - Assignment: Write a short composition on the origin of embroidery
  - Conduct oral drill on sentence patterns and cognates
- Conclude program
  - Compose as a group a farewell and thank-you letter to Kujdych
  - Conduct an oral discussion about the residency and how students view themselves in relation to it
  - Assignment: Write a short composition explaining your feelings about the residency



Tom Brown at the cabin he uses for preparing pelts and displaying trapping and hunting memorabilia, 1982. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

Tom Brown Woodsman

ROUTE 49 in Cumberland County winds through several eras in the county's history—past small towns such as Shiloh where merchants set up shop to serve the needs of farmers, into Bridgeton and Millville where workers and owners of the glass and textile industries of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries lived in modest neighborhoods and elegant estates, through scattered suburbs built in the twentieth century by the children of old families and more recent immigrants.

Turn off the road soon after you go under the Route 55 overpass, follow a dirt road past a pretty white farmhouse and you'll arrive in "Paradise," a cluster of tiny buildings and gardens lush with pole limas and brilliant flower beds on the edge of woodlands. They constitute the personal universe of Tom Brown—farmer, trapper, poet, environmentalist—and provide a microcosm of the collective history and concerns of generations of Cumberland County residents.

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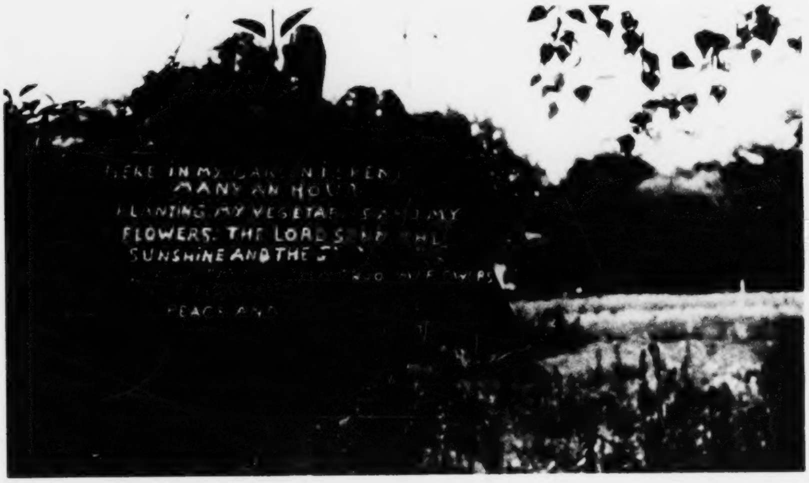
The visitor is greeted by a sign that immediately introduces two essential facts about Brown: that his life and personal identity are rooted in this environment, and that his affection and reverence for this fact are often expressed in playful and poetic language:



Here in my garden I spend
Many an hour
Planting my vegetables and my
Flowers
The Lord sends the
Sunshine and the showers
I harvest my vegetables
Enjoy my flowers
Here I relax and rest and enjoy
Peace and happiness

One begins to understand the cosmology that makes a paradise of ten acres of woods and farmland when Brown explains that, for him, "God" stands for the "great outdoors." This is not to say that he denies the existence of a supreme being, but rather that he views the natural environment as the primary manifestation of immortality. Earth, water, animals, plants, and human beings are all bound together in a reciprocal relationship. Although he is a part of this network, man is also a steward of it, with both the right to use natural resources and the responsibility to use them wisely and conservatively. Thus, trapping for furs and meat is akin to farming and harvesting plants. The ethical pursuit of both enterprises requires the harvester to care for—and about—the environment. A responsible woodsman and farmer lives *with*, not "off," the land.

This philosophy has motivated much of what Brown does and says. Like innumerable others in this region, which includes portions of the Pinelands National Reserve, he has sustained himself and his family primarily by working a cycle of environmental activities. Trapping, hunting, and farming have been supplemented by stints in sawmills, fire towers, glass factories, and sand plants. Brown has shown his seriousness about his stewardship by teaching others in both formal and informal ways. He has served as a trapping instructor in licensing classes for the State Division of Fish and Game, and coached young relatives and friends in these skills. In recent years, he has participated in many school programs, in the Cumberland County Sportsmen's Jamboree, and in the American Folklife Center's Pinelands Folklife Survey, introducing hundreds of youngsters, oldsters, and researchers to traditional systems of environmental classification and use. He has been active in local and state debates over environmental use and regulation.

Yet it is his playfulness and verbal artistry that give particular force and distinction to the man and his pursuits. Brown discovered his penchant and affection for rhyme and rhythm at an early age. Over the years, he has used that skill not only to entertain himself and others, but also to express his view of and feelings about nature and his life. He composes mentally, and he characteristically uses these oral compositions in normal conversation as distillations of his experiences. Many of his poems serve as markers for important eras of his own life. A visitor to his home may be introduced to the living room that was once his whole house with the playful poem "Fifty Years":

On Reaching Fifty Married Years!

For over fifty years I've been wed.
Is it any wonder I look half dead?!
Into fifty years I'm looking back
To where we started out in a one-room shack.
Boy, how the wind blew through the cracks!
One morning we woke up and what do you know?
On the top of our blankets was three inches of snow!

Can anyone here picture a seventeen-year-old bride
Canning tomatoes and cooking on a wood fire outside?
And then one morning our folding bed upset.
If it hadn't been for Muriel I would be there yet!
For there in that little one-room abode,
I was rolled up in the blankets under the stove!

When the wind got around to the back of that shack,
Boy! It was no joke.
For that one room was soon full of smoke

And that seventeen-year-old bride
Rushed to the door with smoke in her eyes.

We have had our share of sorrows, heartbreak, and tears,
For after all it has been fifty long years!
Pitcherpump, oil lamps, wood stove—it sure wasn't the best.
But the one thing we had was togetherness.
Down through the years there has been many a time
When I thought I had come to the end of the line.
But Muriel was there and the children, too,
And working together they pulled me through.

There were the grandchildren, good and true,
Then there came to join the rest,
Three great-grandchildren among the best.
Kelly Dawn, Heather Lynn, and Mariel
They sure will keep the old man going a spell.

Fifty years sharing our work, heartache, happiness, and fun.
Lord willing, we will all be together for many more years to come.
But, Folks, this may put an end to fifty years of romance,
For Muriel was an old maid of seventeen,
And I was her last chance.

Brown bought that original building in 1930 for forty dollars and moved it to his property on Cumberland Road. Later, he bought and moved other buildings and converted them to uses that are part of his special lifestyle: a hunting lodge, where male members of his extended family and friends gather to "shoot more deer" in stories than were ever shot during deer-hunting season; a trapping cabin, where he prepares pelts; and several "museums," where he displays memorabilia and antiques that he has gathered over the years. These are the artifactual analogs of a mental collection. In oral histories, anecdotes, and narratives, Brown arranges and arrays bits and pieces of his own and others' experiences to create vivid pictures of the past.

That past encompasses the stories of his parents and grandparents. They are part of an on-going family saga that accumulates new chapters every day and includes kin from the eighteenth century as well as contemporary great-nieces and nephews.

The saga begins with Peter Griner, a fourteen-year-old who was left with nothing but the family Bible after his parents died during the voyage from Germany to America in 1740. He was bound to a family in Bridgeton until the age

Newlyweds Muriel and Tom Brown in 1932. Courtesy of Tom Brown.

Muriel and Tom Brown, 1990. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

of twenty-one. Brown's father, Elmer Brown, the great-great-grandson of Peter Griner, was born in 1854 in Millville. He eventually became a farmer and shoemaker on the land on Cumberland Road from which Brown's ten acres have been carved.

Brown identifies his maternal grandfather, Sam Lloyd, as the hereditary source of his own attachment to the natural world. Lloyd was a Lenni Lenape basketmaker and woodsman from Newport.

Although official histories claim that most of the Lenni Lenape had moved out of state by 1801 after the Brotherton Reservation in Indian Mills failed, the oral histories of many southern New Jersey families include Lenni Lenape forebears. It is likely that negative social attitudes of earlier times may have inhibited official documentation of intermarriage with Native Americans. Like

Brown's grandmother, Mary Grace, who came from an oystering family in Port Norris, young women who wed Native Americans were often shunned by their families, and people with Indian blood often sought to meld into general society rather than maintain their cultural identity and suffer the prejudice it attracted. In recent years, government reparations and changing social attitudes have encouraged interest in Native American ancestry, but have also clouded the issue with controversy over motivation and documentation.

Although Brown is interested in all Native Americans, he has not established any tribal affiliation. Rather, he conjectures that his affinity for a woodsman's life may be an inheritance from his grandfather through his mother:

Well, when you're raised in the woods, somebody'll name a plant, like foxtail, cattail, three-square. And then my mother . . . she could go out and gather this and gather that. She would go get the teaberry leaves. We'd dry them and make tea. . . . Mother would get the sassafras in the spring of the year and make the tea to cleanse your blood, you know.

My mother would take a basket and she would go around, and a little later . . . she'd come back with enough to make a meal of wild asparagus. Where it come up here and there, she knew right where it was. At the cedar tree there is one spot—she used to get some out from under that. Still comes up there, I think.

Others who were instructors in Brown's early education in woodsmanship were his older brothers, Elmer and Ed, and oldtimers Elwood Ford and Grant Trader. Ford was a woodsman who lived on Teaberry Island down Union Road. He made his living cutting wood, hunting, trapping, and doing odd jobs. Brown was twelve years old when Ford gave him his first knife, and soon after, he decided that he wanted to prepare himself for the future outdoors rather than in the classroom. Ford and Trader showed him how to catch rabbits in snares and snoods, historic trapping methods that have since been outlawed. But, Brown points out,

mostly years ago, trappers were loners. Whatever they knew, they kept to themselves. Until E. J. Daley and others started writing and putting books on the market, there wasn't too much that you could learn [from books]. But then they started putting the books out in the late twenties and early thirties, see. Of course, if you could get money enough to buy the books!

Brothers Ed and Elmer, who were eighteen and twenty years older than Tom, trapped skunk and sold the furs on the corner of High and Broad streets in Millville.

Cumulatively, from working with and watching these companions and from reading articles on trapping in such magazines as *Rural New Yorker*, *Pennsylvania Farmer*, and *Farm Journal*, Brown learned to prepare pelts. This skill has provided an important part of his income over the years. Although large fur auctions have been held in several places in southern New Jersey, Brown usually sold directly to buyers, including some from Sears, Roebuck, and Company, in the years up to 1950.

One of the most critical skills of a woodsman, the ability to find his way in what appear to be undifferentiated woods, comes, Brown thinks, mostly from instinct and experience. He used to go in the woods with his brother-in-law, and by the age of thirteen, he had learned to follow streams and stars as directional signs.

> *When I was thirteen, I was fighting a forest fire out back here. And there's nothing so lonesome as the woods after you put a fire out. . . . So I said, "I'm heading out. . . ." There must have been twenty-five, thirty men. In them days, they'd cut pine limbs and sweep the fire. . . . So after the fire was out, I said, "Well, I'll take the ones who want to go with me—I'll take you back out," to where the cars was. They were up there in the gravel hole. And these guys said, "Ahhh, what's a kid know about finding his way out of here? We're going this way." So I came on up to the old wood road, and come on out to the gravel hole. And we were out there in the gravel hole two hours before the other men made it! Know what I was doing? Stars were out and I was just following the Milky Way north!*

Brown's father regarded activities such as trapping as "fooling around" if they didn't earn any money, but Brown and his brothers made sure they did. By 1924, when he was fourteen and raccoon pelts were selling for six dollars and weasel for three, Brown left school and started trapping regularly. He also worked firing boilers in a sawmill.

In 1932, he married Muriel Smith, who had lived most of her life in Camden, then a bustling city. The first year was difficult for the self-described "city girl," but she, as Tom Brown had, eventually learned the skills that would help them raise three children. During lean years, Muriel Brown recalls, they lived mostly off venison and the hundreds of jars of vegetables she would can during the summer.

As he neared middle age, and his children neared college age, Brown began to worry about acquiring the financial security that working for a company could provide. He joined the Wheaton Glass Company as a warehouseman and worked there for over thirteen years. When he injured his back he rethought the meaning of "security."

Security

Of education I have little or none.
I never thought I needed one.
For my wife and I worked side by side,
Steady as the endless tide.
Sharing sorrow, work, and mirth,
And living off the good old earth.
In summer I farmed and worked in the wood.
In winter I hunted and trapped and lived real good.
To me the world was more than kind,
For I had happiness and peace of mind.
Then folks began to talk to me,
Of building up security.
Security in dollars and cents,
So off to the factory to work I went.
So many years have come to pass,
The so-called security I have at last.
But to me it was a waste of time,
For I lost my happiness and peace of mind.
So just remember and listen to me:
Happiness and Peace of Mind are Security.

Guided by his sense of stewardship and enabled by his considerable knowledge, Brown turned back to the environment for his security. His values and methods reflect his connection to the environment. He believes that there are no "trash animals"; ethics require that only what is used or needs to be controlled should be harvested. Following his own maxim for trappers ("Know the animal you're hunting"), he has learned about the many species of creatures in his woods.* He can read signs that are so fine and subtle that others would never notice. Rattlesnakes, he claims, have a faint cucumberlike smell that has on occasion warned him off before the sound of rattles has. The tracks of red and gray fox differ, he says, like those of a dog and cat, with the red fox's print larger and exhibiting nail marks. Grays can climb trees and eat mice, moles, and fruit such as fox grapes and persimmon. Red fox eat rabbits and rats and stay on the ground.

He also knows how various animals help him. About skunks, he says, "Actually, I haven't trapped the field here because I didn't want to trap my skunks. And they're good mousers. They get so much bugs and stuff, they're a benefit to the farmer."

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* Portions of this section are based on Eugene Hunn's field reports for the American Folklife Center's Pinelands Folklife Survey.

A typical weekend family gathering at the Brown home, circa 1919. "At Mother's table," recalls Brown, "she could sit twenty-two people." Tom Brown is at the left and his mother, Artenesia, at the right of the bottom row. His father, Elmer, is at the right in the top row. Courtesy of Tom Brown.

Clearly, his experiences have also developed his affection for nature. "It's like I tell the grandson, it's not what you get, it's what you miss that's the fun part." The deer behind his house know when deer hunting season begins, Brown says, and move deeper into wetlands. One morning near the start of the season, he was in the woods by the old railroad tracks,

and lo and behold, out steps a big doe! And she looked up and down the railroad, looked up toward me. She looked back, and I said, "Well, they're coming out now. . . ." So out come these two big rackers—rack bucks—and they walked across. Then two more does. They headed on down the swamp. They stayed there till season was over. After the season's over, then they moved back in again.

Other animals impress Brown with their wit and gentleness.

The biologist, he sent me the form to fill out to get a beaver permit and otter permit. I don't want it. I like to see the otter. I like to see the beaver. I have caught plenty of them and let them go. I tell you, [they're] the most gentle creatures to let go. You talk to them they calm right down. Anyhow, I saw this big beaver. At first in the darkness I thought it was a coon. It was in a coon set. So I said, "I'll get my trap off of his foot. . . ." So I leaned over, . . . I pulled the spring, and away he went. . . . Man, if that thing had ever swung around, he could have taken a chunk of me, but they don't.

Brown signals his respect for the wily and playful otter in his manner of address. "Mr. Otter," he says, "[is] smart enough to stay out of that trap himself."

Passing on this store of personal experience and traditional knowledge is important to Brown, and it motivates many of his activities. He is happy to recall that he was with his grandsons and great-grandsons when they got their first rabbits, grouse, or deer. He has also helped other young men learn trapping, because "if they make a success out of it, you feel you've accomplished something." The first lesson he teaches, he says, is "Safety! Even with toy guns, I always tell them, 'Don't point it because you might pick up a real gun.'" In addition, he teaches them "always to look beyond your target" to be sure no one is in the way or around the corner.

Brown's hunting lodge is a sort of monument to the rite of passage that signals a boy's entry into the company of men. At around the age of ten, a boy will first be allowed to join his father, grandfather, cousins, and friends for the week-long deer season in December. At the end of each day, the men will gather in the cabin to laugh and talk about the ones that were missed, or the ones that were wished. The lodge may also be the stage for a tall tale from Brown's repertoire, such as this tale of Sonny Allen's hunting dog:

Sonny Allen, he said he had a smart dog. He said if he was gonna hunt deer, he'd take the ten-gauge gun. And he said the dog wouldn't hunt nothing but deer. If he was gonna hunt rabbit, he'd take a sixteen and the dog wouldn't hunt nothing but rabbit. So . . . one day he said "I'll fool that dog!" So he picked up his fishing rod. The dog made a dive out the door. When he got out in the yard, the dog was digging worms.

Brown has kept abreast of forces that have had an impact on woodsmanship. Efforts to protect the environment and stabilize wildlife populations, as well as to change trapping tools and techniques, have brought him into active work with both trappers' associations and environmental advocacy groups. Although he credits state regulations with the revitalization of some species, he worries that growing restrictions on trappers will cause population explosions of the muskrat, which damages bayside dikes and farmers' fields. More broadly, he sees the debate as a conflict of lifestyles. In one of his poems, Brown exhorts his peers:

But fellow trappers,
There is no doubt,
If we want to trap,
We will have to shell out.

So join your association.
Give what you can,
And maybe we will still have
Some freedom in our land.

These anti-trap people,
Neither care nor realize,
That some of us trap,
In order to survive.

So, fellow trappers, let us do
The best we can.
And, who knows, in years to come,
Out on the trapline, a great-grandson will say,
"Well done, great-granddad, well done!"

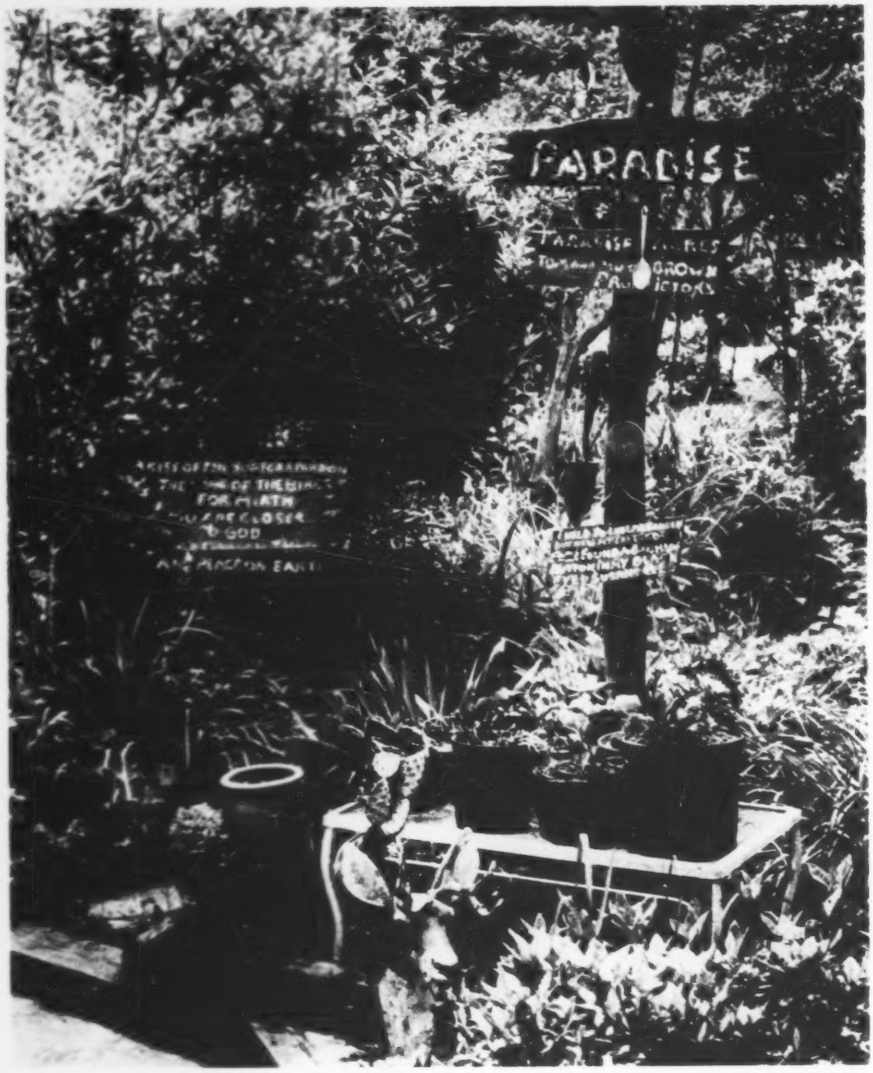
He has also participated in the effort to prevent the construction of power plants in the county because he fears they may disrupt the ecology of the Manumuskin and Menantico waterways.

Brown has found inventive ways of binding past and present, natural and social worlds. He inscribed the names of some of his grandchildren on the shells of turtles who come and go from his homestead. The metal seats of old tractors he has planted in the ground as chairs for his great-grandchildren. Bits of their agrarian heritage have become little thrones for treasured new generations.

Tom Brown has made it possible for us to follow his own and previous generations' footprints in many ways. Through his garden, through his museums, through his work, and through his words, we get a glimpse of his "Paradise."

My Love

My wife has often said to me
How lonesome the woods must be.
I answered, No, there's too much to see.
I love the murmur of the trees
As the wind softly stirs the leaves.
The bees flying to and fro,
Gathering nectar as they go.
The cardinal with his coat of red,
The mocking bird singing over head.
The robin and the little wren
Are among my many feathered friends.
As through yonder laurel I chance to glance,



The signs in Tom and Muriel Brown's dooryard that greet visitors to their "Paradise." Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

A grouse is starting to drum a dance.
The otter from the bank that slides,
The mink who hunts a hole to hide.
The deer that drink in yonder stream
I often see them in my dreams.
And though folks may say it is a waste of time,
And though I may never be worth a dime,
I will always have this love of mine.

Educational Program

Although the various teachers who worked with Tom Brown through the FAIE program had very different types of classes, they saw in his close connection to the natural environment and his vivid expressiveness the means to reach their diverse goals.

Mary Fisher wanted her fifth graders at Downe Township Elementary School in Newport to develop an understanding of their own relationship to the regional environment. Through observing Brown's lifestyle and the specialized knowledge that went with it, they learned how to explore the environment and the human connections to it. Fisher focused the unit on natural sciences and social studies, and constructed activities that related the two subjects. A walking tour of the area around the school introduced the students to the constituents of the environment—its ecosystems, plant and animal species, and food chains. Each student drew a map of the area and listed the resident species.

During a field trip, Tom Brown identifies a plant specimen for Ron Manno's and Karen Felmey's students. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

Then they examined how people relate to their environment in various ways. They identified place names, conservation efforts, and economic systems based on the environment. Their visit to the Corbin City Wildlife Area and Tom Brown's homestead were illuminated by Brown's knowledge and narratives of the man-nature relationship.

To explore connections with the past, Brown provided an oral and visual history of his family. He talked about his Native American grandfather, his shoemaker father, his uncle who fought in the Civil War. He brought artifacts from his "museums": Indian implements, a shoemaker's tools, written documents from the Union Army. Each student then focused on his or her own past, interviewing relatives and constructing a family tree.

Brown's love of language resounded in his presentations of his poetry. He even created a poem about the class in which he used all their names. Following this cue, Fisher had her students write about him and develop fictional stories based on their visit to Corbin City. She memorialized her own enthusiasm for Brown and the residency in a poem with which her written curriculum packet opens:

T om Brown
O rator
M any interesting stories

B eams with children
R eal folk artist
O utdoors
W ins friends of all ages
NATURE

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Ronald Manno and Karen Felmey's students were quite different from Fisher's. Manno and Felmey both teach EMR (Educable Mentally Retarded) and ED (Emotionally Disturbed) youngsters at the Bridgeton Middle School. Manno described these students as deprived and emotionally scarred. "Their lives," he wrote, "have been marked by many failures and frustrations. This anguish usually manifests itself in negative behavior, very poor academic progress with poor insight and hindsight in solving living problems."

A chief goal of the EMR-ED program is development of the ability to function effectively alone and with others. Manno thought that because of Brown's "love of children and [ability] to motivate thinking and positive behavior," a residency with him would provide a context for successful behavior.

He and Felmey focused their curricula on writing and speaking skills to implement the behavioral goal. They prepared their students for effective interaction with Brown by playing a version of "What's My Line?" Students learned to formulate clear questions answerable with "Yes" or "No," in order to quiz their teacher, who posed as a mystery guest. This game helped them gain the skill and confidence to interview Brown on his first visit.

The residencies also included several field trips with Brown, after which students wrote about what they had seen and heard. Both teachers reported that in this interactive approach, the students comprehended, performed, and behaved well. For all classes, the highlight of the residency was a tour of Brown's homestead and an exploration of his surroundings. Students learned how to detect otter tracks, to identify a wood duck's home, and to spot a muskrat's lodge. "Mr. Manno," one student later said, "you told us we would learn and have fun, too. You weren't lying!"

Curriculum Outline

Developed by Mary Fisher, with Tom Brown, for fifth-grade students in a self-contained classroom at Downe Township Elementary School, Newport. Subject Areas: Science, Language Arts, Social Studies

UNIT GOALS

To develop an understanding of regional folklife and its relationship to the natural environment

To develop a knowledge of and appreciation for the natural environment

To develop an awareness of one's own family history

SUBJECT-SPECIFIC GOALS

Science

To identify regional ecosystems and species

To identify methods of environmental conservation

To diagram a food chain

Language Arts

To compose a personal-experience story and a poem in free verse

To listen to oral history for details

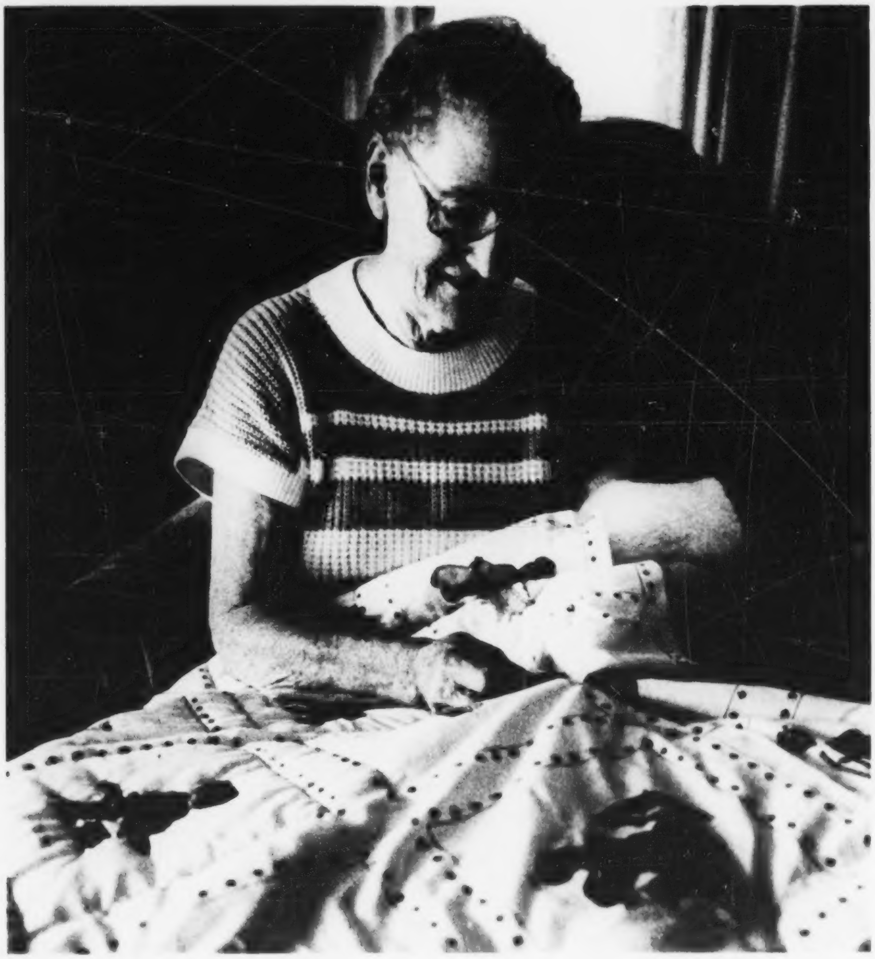
- To construct complete sentences and paragraphs
- To use punctuation marks correctly

Social Studies

- To identify the elements of culture and the role of artifacts in culture
- To compare and contrast the cultures of Pueblo, Plains, and Eastern Woodland Indians
- To document family histories and traditions
- To compare past and present economic systems

UNIT PLAN

- Prepare students to meet Tom Brown
  - Show slides of Brown's homestead
  - Discuss significant elements of Brown's background, including Native American influence and different occupations of Brown and other family members
  - Design bulletin board comparing shoemaking to present day industries
- Introduce students to multiple ways of learning about the past: First visit by Tom Brown
  - Elicit family history and oral poetry from Brown
  - Discuss memorabilia and artifacts with Brown
  - Assignment: Interview a grandparent and complete a family tree using handout
- Explore regional environment
  - Lead students through habitats in area around school, identifying place names and observing wildlife
  - View series of wildlife films
  - Assignment: Draw a map of the area around the school and the route taken; identify different habitats and list wildlife found in each
- Continue learning about past, through oral history and artifacts: Second visit by Brown
  - Discuss Brown's collection of Indian artifacts and muzzleloader
  - Elicit narratives about charcoal making, hunting, and trapping
  - Assignment: Write a cinquaine or a free verse poem about Tom Brown
- Introduce relationship between folkways and natural resources: Third visit by Brown, accompanied by his wife, Muriel
  - Discuss old tools for harvesting natural resources and artifacts made from deer antler by Brown
  - Discuss barter system and its relationship to modern day economics
  - Sample venison
  - Show film *Curious Facts about Money and Taxes*
  - Assignment: Make a pencil sketch of one of the animals discussed; write a thank-you note to Mr. and Mrs. Brown
- Introduce students to ways in which the man-nature balance is maintained through conservation
  - Accompany students to Brown's homestead
  - View and discuss trappers' tools and methods
  - Accompany Brown on walking tour of Corbin City Wildlife Refuge
  - View and discuss wildlife habits and signs, and conservation methods; elicit stories from Brown and attitudes about natural environment
  - Tour Brown's museum
  - Assignment: Create a personal-experience story beginning with: "It all happened when I was lost at Corbin City . . ."
- Review and conclude unit of study
  - Proofread and correct stories using transparencies
  - Complete bulletin board with poems about Brown
  - Write thank-you notes to the Browns



Olga Fogg. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Olga Fogg

Quilter

In 1971, Olga Fogg decided to make a quilt to tell the story of her life in the little town of Shiloh. The scenes in its thirty squares depict places that were an integral part of her life:

It was my school. It was my church. They were my girlfriends' houses—some of the old houses the girls live in. This *is an old house. This is two houses put together—1837! And the oldest house in town is right in the back yard over here. And those are people that I've known all my life—since I moved here.*

Although Fogg's story is but one chapter in the nearly three-hundred-year history of Shiloh, many of the elements in it were just as important to previous generations of Shiloh residents. Community life, farming, and the church have been the core of Shiloh since its founding.

Many of the early settlers of southern New Jersey were members of religious sects who fled persecution in the British Isles. Because John Fenwick, the first proprietor of this area, was a Quaker, his lands were open to Quakers, Calvinists, and other groups that had suffered disapproval and persecution elsewhere. Some came here by way of New England.

Much of the area that is now Shiloh Borough was originally settled by Seventh Day Baptists. This group distinguishes itself from other Baptists by observing the Sabbath from sundown Friday until sundown Saturday. The first Seventh Day Baptists to come to America from England settled in Massachusetts in 1663. In 1687, a group of them, led by Reverend Timothy Brooks, moved to southern New Jersey. One of their members bought a large tract of land in an area called Cohansey Corners in 1705, and eventually the group moved there and built a small frame meetinghouse. In 1771, they moved the wooden structure and built a permanent brick church. Viewing this as a symbol of stability and permanence, their leader, Reverend Jonathan Davis, reportedly announced that "the Ark resteth at Shiloh." From that time on, the village that grew there was known as Shiloh—a safe place, a secure harbor.

Like other small towns in southern New Jersey, Shiloh served as a commercial and social center for the farms that surrounded it, but in Shiloh, the Seventh Day Baptist Church was the nucleus of the town and the community. Most area residents belonged to the church, and town life was influenced by their beliefs. "Now, at one time in this town—forty years ago—" recalls Olga Fogg, "you didn't put a wash on the line on Saturday. No way! You didn't do it, out of respect for the town." Even those who were not congregation members would refrain from interrupting the Sabbath observation. "The stores closed up, too. One store, the gas station, was not Seventh Day, but in respect for the town, he closed up."

Fogg's parents, Ida and John Nelson, were Swedish immigrants who moved from Jamaica, Long Island, to Alloway, New Jersey, in 1917, and to Shiloh in 1925. At the time, there was only one other Swedish family there. At first the white blond hair of the children and the accents of the parents were a curiosity, but soon the family settled into the life of the town. Because their house was located near one of the two stores in town, the Nelson children were often in the center of community activity:

The corner store, that sold gas, was a meeting place for all the men. You talk about women being talkers! These men would all come, and they'd talk farming, the crops, you know. Well, they'd bring their children to play. We lived just one house down from the store. We had five children. The preacher had seven children [next door]. The family across the street had two children. That was about fifteen right there! We'd go skating and swimming and sledding.

Two ponds at which many of those activities took place are on the Shiloh quilt. "One of them I [practically] lived in! Oh, I was the biggest tomboy ever made! I'd go over in the morning. A whole gang of us would go over in the morning. Pop would come after us at night. [I'd beg] 'One more dive, Pop, just one more dive!'" John Nelson had built the diving board.

At other times the children would entertain each other with stories.

> *We had one fellow in the crowd. . . . He had no mother or father. He was raised by his grandparents. And he would go to the movies. We never got to go to the movies. But he'd go see these Westerns in Bridgeton. . . . He'd go Saturday night, and Sunday he'd be on our porch telling this story. Well, he could remember every detail, and we'd just listen, you know!*

At ten in the evening Fogg's father would bid the young visitors "Good night," and they would leave for their homes.

Fogg and her thirty-five classmates at Shiloh High School had to change to Bridgeton High in 1929 when Shiloh became a borough. This was a big change for the young people. With over three hundred students, Bridgeton High seemed huge. Moreover, the scheduling of dances on Friday nights—after the beginning of the Seventh Day Baptists' Sabbath—caused some unhappiness. But Fogg recalls that they not only adapted, they made their mark on the urban school. "We had a great ball team [at Shiloh]. We beat all the other teams. Well, at Bridgeton, all the Shiloh boys made the baseball team."

Fogg, who played piano by ear in her youth, seems to have inherited some of her skills from her father, who could play five musical instruments. A man of little formal education, John Nelson had many skills and led a busy, productive life.

> *My father was a carpenter. He was a craftsman! He wasn't a wood butcher. And he had done over old houses in Alloway. . . . He would take this house, tear it apart, build it up, and sell it. He could do plumbing, lay bricks, plaster—you name it! We had a new home every year!*

He also liked to make things: "I don't think there was a family in Shiloh that had little kids that didn't have one of these little benches, with a little kid's table, that he had made. He did it for all the little kids—very generous."

He also loved flowers, and on family drives in the countryside, he would stop and wait patiently for Olga to gather wildflowers. She has been raising flowers and using them in myriad ways since then, and they represent one of her special connections to the Shiloh Seventh Day Baptist Church.

The Fogg family had been in Shiloh for many generations when Olga Nel-

The potato market at "Shiloh Crossing" in 1910. This photograph was taken on the day that became known as "Mickel Day" because Josh Mickel reportedly bought nearly all of the potatoes at the market that day. Courtesy of Cumberland County Historical Society.

son married J. Harold Fogg in 1931. She joined the congregation after their marriage.

When I was first married, I had a big flower bed. Oh, it was the biggest flower bed there was! Well, [at church] we had an awfully good man who fixed the flowers, but he put them in quart jars! He had no vases, so he'd stick them in quart jars. . . . So I started bringing them in. I offered him some vases, and he said, "Well, you've got flowers, why don't you do it?" So I did. I started. And then there was another girl that helped me. And we'd get up early Sabbath morning in the dew and the rain and pick them. I've done the church flowers for over fifty years now.

During part of those fifty years, Fogg also raised four children, farmed, and held a job on a poultry farm. Nevertheless, she found time to participate in many of the church activities that help maintain a sense of community. Important among those events are community work sessions, such as those held to build the church camp twenty-five years ago.

The church bought a piece of ground in the woods, and it had a lake. And they went in there—the whole congregation. If you couldn't go, you made [something to help]. I made clam chowder and homemade bread, because I was working at that time, six days a week. . . . And I made that and sold it when I could and put money for [the camp]. And my daughter with a pony went down there. She took the pony and dragged logs out of the woods. And things like that. That was typical of what everybody did. There were carpenters. There were masons—whatever they could do. The women cooked and brought lunches. . . . They built barracks for the girls and barracks for the boys, and a big building for the whole group. And then they cleared it out, and they have benches out in the woods where they have camp meetings for the kids. And people come from all over.

The church's twice-annual potpie dinners are another occasion for shared work sessions. Chicken potpie—stewed chicken with rolled dumplings—is a time-honored dish in much of southern New Jersey, and it has long been a staple at community dinners. Fogg recalls how the Shiloh women divided up the work:

When I was young, I worked on a poultry farm. . . . And Mr. Schaible had poultry for sale. And so, naturally, they would buy from him. Well, I can remember those Sunday mornings! . . . They'd start in and kill these chickens. I had nothing to do with that, but I'd help pick them, and that is the worst mess! Feathers! Hot water! It's awful! Then they'd take them and soak them and clean them up. And then each one would take so many home to cook. Now they buy them already dressed and cut up, and they just divide them around the town, and they cook them and pick off the meat and save the broth. Then they bring them in the day we're going to have the dinner.

Other communal events include the pantry showers that are held at the parsonage to stock the kitchen for each new minister and his family, and the annual Easter Party for couples.

It used to be by horse and wagon. Now, of course, it's car. . . . They have a committee [that plans it]. . . . They have maybe four things they're going to do, but nobody knows but the leader. They start out, and they have this big [blue agate] coffee pot. . . . And it used to be, wherever that coffee pot went, you went in with the coffee pot, but if that coffee pot stayed, that's where you stayed. . . . Made a game of it, you know. . . . It's on the quilt.

Other important elements of the community's past recorded on the Shiloh quilt are the church; the parsonage; the blacksmith shop (which once housed an upstairs schoolroom); the house where a group of rebellious colonists from Greenwich dressed as Indians before burning tea in 1774 (the Howell house); the insignia of DeCou's Orchards, the town's largest business; and Shiloh produce—potatoes, peas, beans, peaches, and apples.

The Shiloh quilt became the template for a community quilt. Since she made it, friends and neighbors have asked Fogg to make similar quilts for them. On each, she adds a personal detail to relate the owner's life to the Shiloh community narrative. "It's a story quilt," she explains. Her skill in telling those stories on quilts has made her an important informal educator in community traditions.

Fogg began quilting by working with her mother-in-law at a huge quilting frame. She quickly discovered that she preferred appliqué to piecing. She made appliquéd story quilts for her children and occasionally sold one. But her full-time work at the poultry farm restricted the time she could spend at her quilting. In the late sixties, her boss told her that she could quilt at work during breaks in the grading and cleaning of eggs. An important era in her own life and the life of the community began:

> *So I had a big long table. That's one reason people came and watched me quilt. . . . I put a sheet on the floor so it wouldn't get dirty, and I'd work there. One of the best friends that I have now met me there. She came in there, and she was fascinated by the quilting. She was really fascinated!*

Fogg's skill with appliqué brings to mind her parents—her father rebuilding old houses, and her mother making overcoats into children's coats. "Quilting," she says, is "easy. You just sit there by the hour running the needle through." But appliqué is "like putting the pieces of a puzzle together or building a house." She is challenged by the tasks of matching fabric design and color and telling a story in pictures. It is the narrative quality of appliqué quilting that engages her, and that she uses so well.

In 1976, Fogg made a Fogg family quilt to tell some of her favorite family stories. All of the elements of a family history dance before the eye. She laughs over the memories they evoke:

> *One time my youngest daughter, Kathy, got caught with a bunch of skunks. And it shows the skunks going out, and it shows her laying down underneath this building looking for them and the skunks are running out. She had to go in the woodshed and strip and bury her clothes!*
>
> *There's one where we had a garden. . . . And my oldest son was about fourteen. And we had this garden together, he and I. My brother-in-law lived in the*

Olga Fogg identifies bird species on one of her quilts during her residency with Karen Horwitz's art students at Bridgeton Middle School. Photograph by Rita Moonsammy.

back yard in a little house, and he raised chickens. He let them out every night. They'd go in our garden, at four o'clock. Well, of course, that didn't please us so well, you know. They'd scratch our garden up. Harold said, "Mom, see that chicken over there?" And he picked up a rock, never thinking he'd hit it! He picked up that rock and threw that rock and hit that chicken and it just went—clonk! That was it! So he said, "What'll I do? What'll I do?" I said, "Don't say nothing! Just go out and get it. Cut its head off. We're going to eat it." So two days later I invited my brother-in-law in for supper. And we had chicken! And he didn't know. . . . So he said, "This is good chicken." And that's on the quilt!

Other quilts have told other stories. "Now one I made for our minister when he retired. They were going around and having people give money, and I said, 'I'm going to make a quilt.' I could do all of the churches he'd preached—wherever he'd been. . . . And then I did the family, too." That quilt, along with the Shiloh quilt, hung in the church for its tricentennial celebration in 1987.

Today, friends, neighbors, even strangers seek out Fogg's help with their quilting. A favorite pupil lives nearby:

This little girl was about eleven. . . . She's just crazy about quilts. . . . And she wanted to know, would I help her. I said yes and we started on a pillow. I think she made six pillows. She did fine at first. Then one day she wanted one in a hurry. She brought it back. I says, "Grace! I don't like this! You wadded it. You pulled it. You've got it all bunched. I want you to take it all apart." It pretty near *killed her! I said, "I want you to take it all apart, and if you can't do what we want done, come and I'll help you again." She said, "I know I hurried it. I wanted it for a gift." I said, "Well, you're not going to give this." So she took it home, and she did bring it back. . . . I've had big folks do one pillow and that's it. They're not going to be quilters. But Grace is going to be a quilter. I know—because she wants to stick to it!*

Stable natural and social resources have helped Shiloh to adapt to change rather than be overwhelmed by it. The land is good. It has been "compared to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania," Fogg says. Rather than giving up farming as markets change, local farmers have diversified, and many large farms still surround Shiloh. The community is strong. A convenience store may now be open seven days a week, but Shiloh is "still a small village where everybody knows most everybody. You could stop in the corner store and they could tell you where I am. Most people could tell you where the 'quilt lady' lives." People like Olga Fogg keep community history and traditions alive. "We're still a safe harbor."

Educational Program

Art teacher Karen Horwitz, who worked with Fogg, believes that the teacher's most important task is teaching children to solve problems. "I would want children to think creatively, to be given problems and have to find a solution that's *their* solution. All subjects need to find ways to give children ideas about how they can go about solving a problem creatively."

Fogg's quilts represent such a creative solution within a traditional frame. Traditionally, quilts have memorialized communities in a variety of ways. Sometimes patchwork quilts have been made of scraps of family members' clothing, so that the quilt is a metonymic family biography. Others—signature and album quilts on which the names of family and community members are written or sewn—have been colorful genealogies. When Fogg decided to use two traditional modes of needlework in the Shiloh quilt, it was a perfect example of Horwitz's principle in practice.

Horwitz initially chose to work with Fogg because of her own interest in quilting and because she felt it would be fun for her students. After she met Fogg, however, she realized that there was more to her quilts than quilting. "It was the stories, her life. It was telling something about yourself and your culture. It was way beyond the quilt. The quilt was just a way of doing it, and it was a skill she had."

During the residency, Fogg's easy rapport with the students and her skill at telling a story helped them understand their own way of life better.

I think that one of the best things we did was having Olga tell stories of school . . . because we started thinking of our school as a community. And we were going to be telling about the school through the quilt we were going to make and through writings—by having her tell these stories about what she wore and how she walked to school, how far it was and little incidents. I particularly remember her telling about her stockings and funny things—big heavy stockings! How cold it was, and having to start up the stove. Things that our kids had no idea about and that had all gone on in Shiloh where she lived. That sparked their ideas about what is particularly interesting about their own school life and about them.

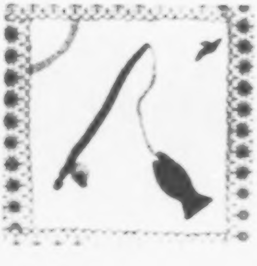
The students then depicted aspects of their own life on appliquéd quilt squares which eventually became a class quilt. That quilt now hangs in the school media center.

Horwitz observed that many of the students related to Fogg "like a grandmother. She told them stories like a grandmother does." This observation resonates with her own personal recollection of her grandfather, who designed lace in Bergen County, New Jersey.

As a young child, Horwitz spent after-school hours with her grandparents.

I remember watching [my grandfather]. I just loved it. I could sit for hours and watch him [create designs with a compass] and show me how to do them. . . . I think the person is so important. You can read a book on a subject, but the person and the relationship you develop with the person are so important.

The curriculum Karen Horwitz developed for the residency used a team-teaching approach emphasizing the theme of communication to integrate the curricula of three subject areas. The focus was on the folk artist's skills in communicating the folklife of her community both verbally, through oral history, and visually, through images created in her quilts. Language Arts teacher Donna Lewis and Spanish teacher Vinnie Van Vliet developed specific activities to implement unit goals and objectives. Lewis, for example, asked the students to write about the interview with Fogg in a variety of fictional and nonfictional genres: a news release, a poem, an editorial, and a short story. Van Vliet arranged for her Spanish-speaking exchange students and Puerto Rican–born teacher Alfredo Cintron to participate in an interview and discussion session.



On the class quilt, Michael Falzone depicted fishing in the Delaware Bay as one of the most popular pastimes of people in the Bridgeton area. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

A simple drawing activity brought many of the concepts of the unit theme into focus for the students. They filled in sketches for a "This Is Your Life" quilt. It gave them an opportunity to create an organized sequence of visual images to communicate some of the personal experiences they were beginning to identify as having folklife significance.

The activity was preceded by discussions of their own folklife as well as Fogg's. During work sessions they observed how Fogg used visual images to document both personal and community traditions. The students were then given a drawing of a quilt containing blank spaces for thirty images. They were asked to fill in the blocks with sketches of elements of their own folklife. The large number of spaces helped to foster divergent thinking, pushing the students to go beyond the first five or ten obvious choices.

The resulting drawings depicted all types of personal possessions, important events, favorite activities, and special people, places, and things. These constituted the folklife experiences that became the narrative text for the quilt.

Curriculum Outline

Developed by Karen Horwitz, with Olga Fogg, for fifth-grade students at Bridgeton Middle School in Bridgeton. Subject Areas: Language Arts, Foreign Languages, Visual Arts

UNIT GOALS

To develop the understanding that communities have distinct folkways and that folk artists communicate folk traditions both verbally and visually

To develop appreciation for one's own community traditions

To understand and appreciate the likenesses and differences in the folkways of different groups

To learn techniques of quilting

SUBJECT-SPECIFIC GOALS

Language Arts

To develop and reinforce interviewing, writing, and research skills

Foreign Languages: Spanish

To compare cultural traditions of two different Hispanic communities with each other and with those of the other students, especially in relation to school life

To practice speaking and writing in Spanish

Visual Arts

To use visual images to communicate about folklife

To strengthen drawing skills through the documentation and description of experiences

UNIT PLAN

Introduce concept of cultural transmission
- Conduct "whispered gossip" activity (a single message is passed from student to student by whispering, and the final version is compared with the original)
- Discuss the ways that information is passed and shared by communities
- Show slides of Olga Fogg and her community and explain her role in the communication of traditions

Identify students' and teachers' experiences of folklife

- In small groups, discuss childhood experiences and children's folklife and folklore
- Present participating teachers' family traditions
- Plan student presentations of their family traditions
- Assignment: Complete a family history worksheet

Survey multiple ways of communicating and documenting folklife
- Review interviewing skills
- Discuss and formulate appropriate questions for interview with Olga Fogg
- Elicit oral history of Olga Fogg: First visit by Olga Fogg
- Relate verbal stories to visual images on Shiloh quilt
- Assignment: Record the visit with Fogg in a news release, poem, editorial, or short story
- Follow-up: Discuss ways that different written forms affect content

Introduce important elements in creating a history quilt: Second visit by Olga Fogg
- Discuss appropriate subjects for pictorial quilt blocks
- Demonstrate quilting techniques
- Review quilting vocabulary in Spanish and English
- Assignment: Sketch a picture that would illustrate part of your family history on a quilt

Examine folklife of the school-as-community
- Discuss ways a school is like a community—members, organization, spaces, events, customs, language
- Develop list of school traditions
- Interview Olga Fogg regarding her school days: Third visit by Olga Fogg
- Prepare questions for interviewing foreign exchange students
- Prepare for interviewing foreign exchange students by role-playing discussion with foreign-born person and conducting mock interview with teacher Alfredo Cintron
- Interview exchange students from Puerto Rico and Mexico
- Compare differences in school schedules, discipline, and customs
- Review school-related Spanish vocabulary
- Assignment: In Spanish, write a description of the interview

Apply concepts and skills to creation of a class quilt: Fourth, fifth, and sixth visits by Olga Fogg
- Create drawings depicting school traditions
- Collect fabric scraps from school community members
- Select appropriate materials for designs
- Trace and pin designs
- Practice fabric-application techniques
- Practice quilting techniques
- Complete individual blocks
- Form quilt by arranging blocks in chronological order and attaching to backing

Conclude program
- Evaluate program
- Assignment: Write a thank-you note to each guest

Collection Projects, from Boats and Bivalves Activity Book

LANGUAGE

Every group of workers has special words and expressions its members use during their work. These may be familiar words with unfamiliar meanings, such as "Chesapeake turkey," a bean soup; or words we've never heard before, such as "oilskin," a rubber coat. They may be phrases that describe an aspect of their work such as "going up the bay" to indicate dredging for seed oysters.

Instructions: During each of the classes, write down a few of the words and expressions that the craftsmen use and their meanings. If you cannot decide on the meaning from the way the word is used, ask the craftsman to explain it to you.

DOCUMENTATION OF CRAFTSMEN

The craftsmen who will be visiting us have worked at their occupations for many years. Their life histories tell us about the history of South Jersey and the maritime industries on the Delaware Bay.

Instructions: During each class, listen closely and take notes about the life of the craftsman as he is talking. Then, during the scheduled activity time, interview him formally with the following list of topics. Have one member of your group serve as the photographer and take a photograph of the craftsman, preferably with black and white film.

Interview Schedule

1. Name
2. Date and place of birth
3. Father's name and occupation
4. Mother's family name
5. First job in the maritime industries
   Place and date
   Description of job
6. Other jobs over the years
7. Job he considered to be his main occupation
   Places and dates
   Description of job
8. Important changes in his occupation, if any
9. The most important skills for his occupation
10. Some important events in his work life, for example, a new boat, an injury
11. What he likes especially about his occupation
12. What he dislikes or considers troublesome about his occupation
13. The reason he chose his occupation
14. Interviewer's name and date and place of interview

ARTIFACT COLLECTION AND DOCUMENTATION

An artifact is an object that helps us understand the life of a particular group of people. It may be, for example, a tool, a garment, a toy, a vehicle, a piece of furniture, a document, an art object. Eventually, some of these objects disappear from use, so it is important to collect them or to record them visually with photographs or drawings.

Instructions: Every artifact, or picture of one, should be accompanied by the following information:

1. The name that the people who use it have given it
2. The name of the group that uses it
3. A description of it (size and materials)
4. The time and place of its use
5. A description of how it is used

There are two ways of documenting artifacts. Divide your group in half to perform both types.

1. Visual documentation: During each session, draw or photograph at least one artifact that you think helps us to understand the life and work of the watermen. Record the important information about it on the back of the photograph or on the bottom of the drawing.
2. Collection: Wherever possible, try to find artifacts that may help us to understand the life and work of the watermen. If the artifact belongs to someone, ask if you may borrow it for our display. Then tag it

with the name and address of the owner and the important information about it. Bring it to the next class. Be certain to return it to the lender.

DOCUMENTATION OF TEXTS

During the course, we will hear songs, stories, proverbs, sayings about luck, weather, medicine, and the like, and recipes. The written version of each of these we will call a "text." Like artifacts, texts help us to understand the life of a group of people, so it is important to write them down as best we can.

Instructions: During each class, write down at least one text, whether it is a story, saying, song, recipe, or whatever. Use the vocabulary and grammar that the craftsman uses. With each text, write down the following information:

1. Title, if there is one
2. Type of text (song, recipe, etc.)
3. The name of the speaker or performer
4. The person from whom the speaker or performer learned the text (if known)
5. The use of the text (for example, to make work go faster; to entertain at weddings)
6. The meaning of the text, in the speaker's or performer's words
7. The date and place that you recorded the text and your name

LOG OF COURSE

Whenever folklorists do fieldwork, they must keep a log or written record of all their activities. They record important information about their meetings and conversations with their informants (people whose culture they are studying), their visits to special events and places, and their most important findings.

Instructions: During and after each class, record the following information about the session:

1. Date and time
2. Place
3. Purpose of the event
4. Participants in the event
5. Topics discussed
6. Important artifacts seen or performances given or texts heard
7. Fieldworker's response—what you learned and how you felt about the experience

STOWMAN BROTHERS
Captain JACK'S Brand
Famous from Coast to Coast
Packers and Shippers of
SALT WATER
OYSTERS
MAURICE RIVER, NEW JERSEY

Advertisement for Stowman Brothers oyster company, circa 1944. From *An Industrial and Agricultural Review of the County of Cumberland, New Jersey,* 1944. Courtesy of Bridgeton Public Library.

Course Description and Syllabus for Folklife in the Curriculum

I. Objectives
  A. General: To create a conceptual and skills foundation for the identification and use by area educators of regional folklife resources in educational formats, according to National Endowment for the Arts and New Jersey State Council on the Arts Folk Artists in Education guidelines
  B. Specific:
    1. To understand the basic concepts of folklife studies and some of the important issues in the field
    2. To carry out fieldwork and documentation
    3. To understand the relationships of folklore to education, in terms of both process and content
    4. To have an overview of the ethnic, occupational, and regional folklife of the southern New Jersey area
    5. To adapt folklife studies and the residency concept to prevailing educational goals, including curricula for various grade and ability levels and subject areas
    6. To create curricula for FAIE residencies, including activities and materials

II. Methodology: Experiencing folklife
Participants will become acquainted with:
  A. Some of the artists and craftsmen and women from cultural communities in Cumberland County
  B. Some of the folk genres of the region and of their own experience
  C. Some of the programming options available to them in the construction of a folklife residency
  D. Some of the formats useful in a residency, including workshops, field trips, performances, and interviews
  E. Folkloristic skills necessary for the preparation and documentation of folk artists and folklife phenomena

III. Requirements
Participants will be asked to:
  A. Manage a residency budget provided by the NJSCA
  B. Acquire administrative approval for the proposed residency
  C. Identify, or choose from the FAIE resource list, a folk artist or craftsman or woman and:
    1. Document the artist on film and tape
    2. Prepare for the residency with the artist
  D. Construct a curriculum for a residency comprised of four visits by the artist to the same core group(s) for one to three hours per visit
  E. Present the residency in his or her classroom
  F. At the conclusion of the course submit the curriculum package, including background on the artist, objectives, unit plan, lesson plans, activity materials, bibliography of supplementary materials, samples of student work, and documentation.
  G. Submit a critique of the residency and the FAIE program and a financial report to the NJSCA

IV. Schedule
Week 1: Introduction
Week 2: Cultural communities—their folklife, aesthetics, products, and artists
  Assignment: "Folklife in Our Own Lives" questionnaire; cognitive map of childhood neighborhood
  *Reading: Cohen, "Folk Belief," "Games and Recreation," "Festivals, Ceremonies, and Rituals," in Cohen, *Folklore and Folklife;* Hufford, *A Tree;* Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "An Accessible Aesthetic"; Rufty
Week 3: Regionalism
  Reading: Cohen, "Names," "Folk Speech," "Legend," in Cohen, *Folklore and Folklife;* Huf-

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*References assigned in this course, as well as materials listed in the course bibliography, are identified with an asterisk in the bibliography below.

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ford, "Maritime Resources" in Vennum; Jones, "Regionalization"; Tuan, "Topophilia and Environment" in *Topophilia;* artist resource list

Week 4: Field trip to meadows and woodlands with Tom Brown

Week 5: Occupational folklife

Reading: Cohen, "Traditional Boats," "Pottery, Basketry, and Glass," in Cohen, *Folklore and Folklife;* McCarl; Moonsammy, "Occupational Folklife" in Vennum

Week 6: Field trip to Delaware Bay with oyster planter Fenton Anderson, fisherman Nerallen Hoffman, and salt-hay farmer Ed Gibson

Week 7: Ethnicity: Visit with folk artists from Seabrook Japanese community

Reading: Cohen, "Folk Music," "Folk Song and Folk Dance," "Foodways," in Cohen, *Folklore and Folklife;* Cunningham, "Estonians," "Puerto Ricans," "Ukrainians"; Hagopian, "The Burned Acid" in Simon; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Studying Immigrant and Ethnic Folklore" in Dorson, *Handbook of American Folklore*

Week 8: Visit with folk artists from Bridgeton Estonian community

Week 9: Fieldwork and documentation

Reading: Bartis

Week 10: Folk artists and formats for presentation: Visit with and performance by folk artists from Port Norris African-American community

Assignment: Fieldwork report

Week 11: Fieldwork reports

Week 12: Residency planning—Themes and topics: Roundtable with teachers from 1983 program

Reading: Ames, DeVane

Assignment: Residency framework: theme, objectives, schedule

Week 13: Residency planning: Subject-area applications

Week 14: Residency planning: Materials development and adaptation

Weeks 15 and 16: Residency reports; program evaluation

Assignment: Curriculum packet

V. Possible residency formats

A. Holistic residencies, presenting a total view of the culture

1. Example: Marsh farming

Two teachers might work with two different artists, each developing different subject areas and sharing artists during classroom sessions, e.g., a trapper and a salt-hay farmer. The program might include a visit to the marshes, a salt-hay farm, and the salt-hay rope maker. Some subject-area applications for a self-contained class might be: legend and dialect in Language Arts; local history and geography, and folklife in Social Studies; marshland zoology and botany in Science; calculating acreage and tonnage in Math; depicting local scenery and wildlife in Visual Arts.

2. Example: Estonian culture

One resident artist might present the background of the Estonian community and its folkways, and one or more visiting artists might present particular arts such as music and folk painting.

B. Generic and cross-cultural programs, presenting a particular genre in different cultural contexts. Several cultures could be compared.

1. Example: Folk instruments

Puerto Rican cuatro might be the main topic, with comparative views presented with Ukrainian bandura or Russian balalaika.

2. Example: Foodways

The resident folk artist might present Ukrainian foodways in their cultural context, with a focus on breads. A Japanese folk artist might then do a presentation on rice uses.

3. Example: Festivals

Home and farm of Martin Ronchetti, circa 1911. From the *Monografia della Famosa Colonia Italianna di Vineland, New Jersey.* Courtesy of Vineland Historical Society.

Russian festival might be explored with the resident artist, with comparative views provided by visiting artists.

C. Thematic residencies, focusing on a theme in culture
   1. Example: Immigration

      The resident artist might present the experience of immigration and associated folklore genres (migration stories, adaptation jokes, and the like), and the theme might be followed up by visiting artists or by subject-area application (such as the immigrant experience in literature, the history of migration in the area, family experiences and folklore of immigration). Note that you don't have to come from a foreign country to experience migration.
   2. Example: Domestic artists

      Ukrainian resident artist might present the role and domestic arts (needlework, foodways) of women in her culture. Comparative views might be provided by folk artists from other cultures, e.g., Japanese
   3. Example: Neighborhood ethnography

      The resident artist might be the catalyst and main informant for a folklife survey of the area around the school by the students. For example, a Millville glass cutter or glassblower, a Vineland farmer, or a Mauricetown mudwalloper.

D. NB: Reflexive components should be part of every residency plan. Here the students apply the acquired concepts about folklife to their own experience. Peer group, family, or ethnic folklife could be focused on. This could be a major project like a class festival or a few assignments.

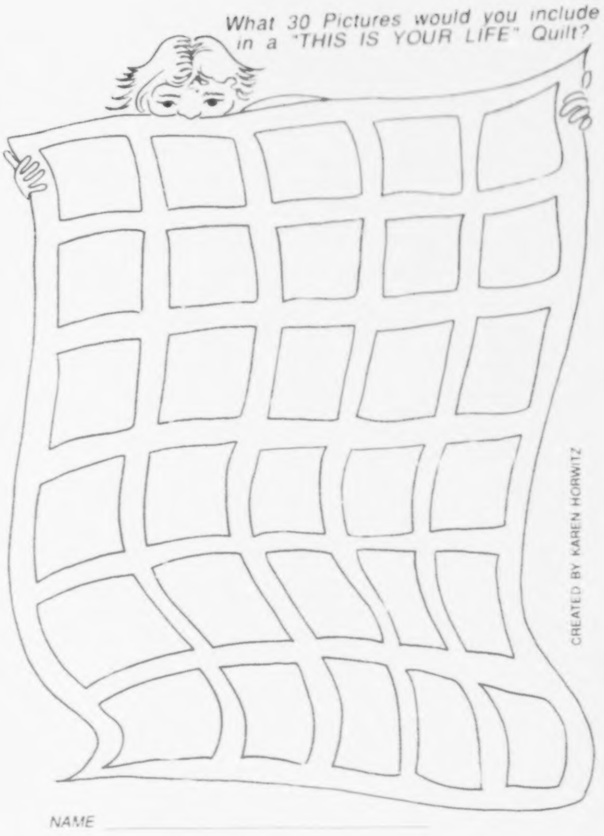
Appliqué Quilt Project*

Stage One: Planning a Pictorial History Quilt

1. Develop an idea. Use your environment as a source of ideas.
2. Do research. Take photographs or draw pictures of the ideas you have.
3. Make an overall plan for the quilt. Plan drawings, patterns, and designs.
4. Plan the size, shape, and color of the quilt.
5. Collect materials: Fabric scraps for appliqué designs, material for quilt backing, polyester batting, thread, needles, scissors, thimbles, pencils, paper, carbon paper, embroidery thread, lace, ribbon, pins—both straight pins and safety pins.

Stage Two: Creating the Quilt Blocks

1. Cut twelve-by-twelve-inch squares from unbleached muslin.
2. Pin your drawing to the block of fabric with straight pins.
3. Put carbon paper between the fabric and the drawing and trace over the drawing.
4. Plan the steps for applying the appliqué design to the block.
   a. Choose the appropriate fabric for each part of the picture.
   b. Plan the order in which you will sew on each part of the appliqué.
5. Trace each part of the appliqué design on the fabric from which you will cut it.
6. Draw a seam allowance of three-quarters of an inch around each piece.
7. Cut out the pieces.
8. Clip the inward curves of the pieces.
9. Pin each piece of the appliqué design to the fabric square, turning under seam allowances, and sew it with an overcast stitch.
10. Embroider any small details.
11. When finished, press each block with an iron.


What 30 Pictures would you include in a "THIS IS YOUR LIFE" Quilt?
CREATED BY KAREN HORWITZ
NAME

Stage Three: Quilting

1. Pin together the three layers of the quilt with safety pins:
   Top layer: appliquéd blocks
   Middle layer: polyester batting
   Bottom layer: fabric backing
2. With a running stitch, sew all around the design through all three layers of the quilt. Work from the center of the blocks out toward the edges.

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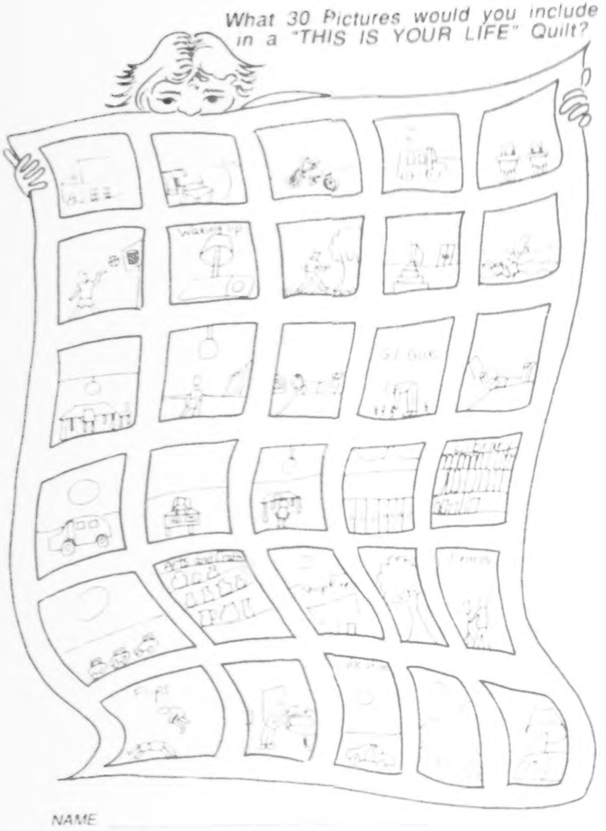
*Created by Karen Horwitz for fifth-grade art students


What 30 Pictures would you include in a "THIS IS YOUR LIFE" Quilt?
NAME

Let's Play Tradition*

Students are divided into two teams, each with a designated leader. For each round of play, a genre of traditional folklife (see list below for examples) is announced to both teams. The teams are allotted three minutes to identify as many traditions from that genre as they can think of. The leader of each team records the list, then the lists are compared. If both teams have the same tradition, they are given one point each. If they have different traditions, they are given two points. The team with the most points after several rounds of play wins the game.

Suggested genres

Festivals and holidays
Rites of passage
Religious traditions
Foodways
Seasonal traditions
School traditions
Children's games and chants
Occupational traditions
Local legends
Folk beliefs
Folk medicine
Weather lore
Folk place names
Proverbs
Riddles

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*Created by Marian Spense for high school students

The Soh Daiko drum group from New York performs at the Seabrook Obon Festival. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Family Folklife Project*

Introduction

Folklife is the way of life of a community of people who have a common identity. This identity may be based on family membership, ethnic background, religious belief, occupation, or area of residence. Community members share daily life and are involved in activities together. In those activities, they have a common understanding of how things are to be done. New members learn those standards and skills by observing and interacting with others in the group. That is how the community traditions are passed along and the community is held together.

Folklife traditions can include many aspects of life—the way we talk, dress, observe holidays, organize our time, arrange living space, decorate our homes, prepare and consume food, play, dance, make music, make and use tools, work, worship, and on and on. This Family Folklife Project will help you to identify and record some of the traditions that are part of the most important community in your life—your family. As you recognize and learn more about your family traditions, you will see how interesting and important your family background is to you.

Family Folklife Questionnaire

Assignment One: Family History Stories

Choose one of the following questions and interview your relatives to gather information and stories. Remember to look for *traditional* material—stories that your family has remembered and retold, not information that you learned from books, papers, records, or television. You may have to talk to several relatives to learn these stories. Be prepared to share your findings with the class.

1. What do you know about how your family came to live in Vineland? Interview individual family members and have them trace the events that led them to live in our city.
2. Gather some stories about family members—their personalities, peculiarities, accomplishments, or tragedies. Interview family members about their own lives and about their recollections of other family members' lives. Record any special stories that they recall.

Assignment Two: Family Language

People learn to speak from those around them. Different communities have different language patterns—dialects, expressions, and accents that are not considered part of Standard English, which is the language pattern that we learn in school. Your family may use words and expressions that come from family experiences and have been passed down through time. Some of these may also be associated with different occupations of family members, ethnic background, or religious beliefs. Interview a family member and record some examples of your family's special language traditions.

Assignment Three: Traditional Folk Music

Although much of the music in our homes comes through radio, recordings, and television, some of it comes from family experiences. It may include lullabies or made-up songs that your mother and grandmother sang when you were a little child, work songs that your father brought home, special dances that are performed on holidays and at weddings, instruments and songs that your grandparents brought from the land where they were born, songs and ditties you sang with playmates, or religious songs that are favorites of your family.

1. Think about the music that is a special part of your family life. Ask your parents to explain the background of some of the songs that are traditional in your family.

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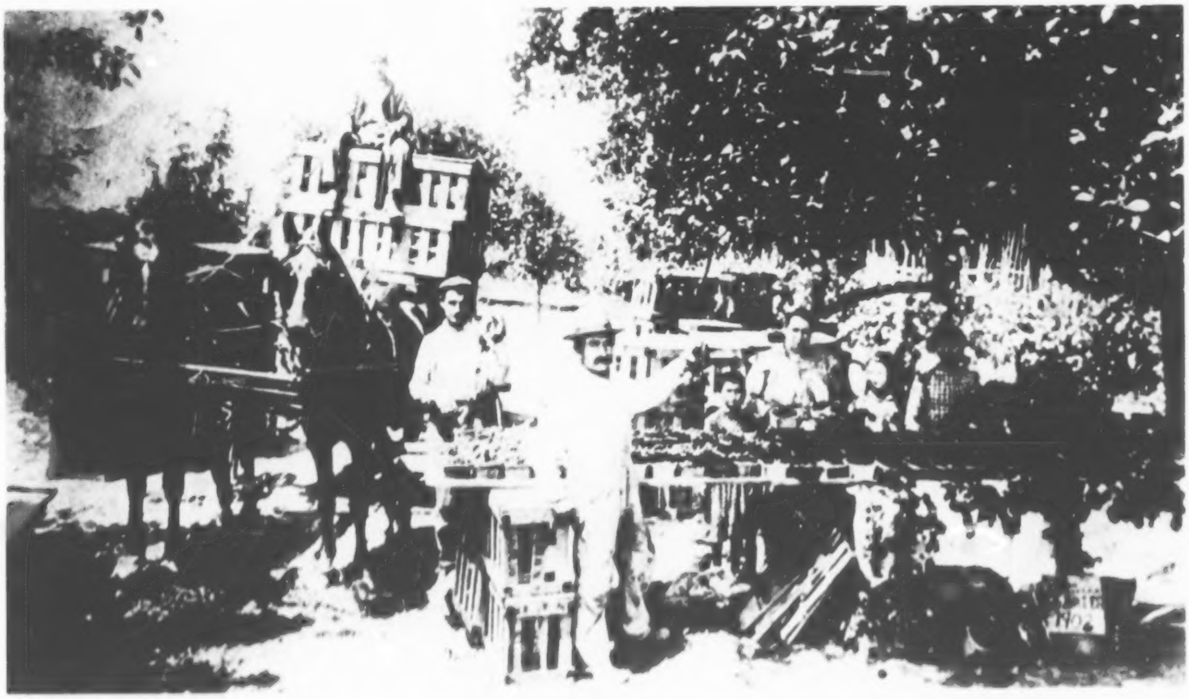
*Created by Louise Karwowski for sixth-grade social studies students

2. Complete the following questionnaire on folk dance in your family:

Name a traditional dance that you have observed or performed.
Where did you learn or observe the dance?
Who taught you the dance?
When is this dance performed?
What is the dance's origin?
Do you use costumes or any special props when performing the dance?
What makes a good dancer of this type of dance?

ASSIGNMENT FOUR: FAMILY FOODWAYS

The most prevalent and easily observed traditions are foodways traditions—the customs involved in the preparation and consumption of food. Families have very specific ideas about what foods should or should not be eaten, when and how they are to be eaten, and how they should be prepared and served. These ideas are passed from generation to generation, and so family recipes can tell much about our family background. Choose a food custom or recipe that is kept in your home and describe it in detail. Explain how it came to be, and write down any recipes on a notecard.



Italian family preparing shipment of fruit for New York markets, circa 1900. From the *Monografia della Famosa Colonia Italianna di Vineland, New Jersey.* Courtesy of Vineland Historical Society.

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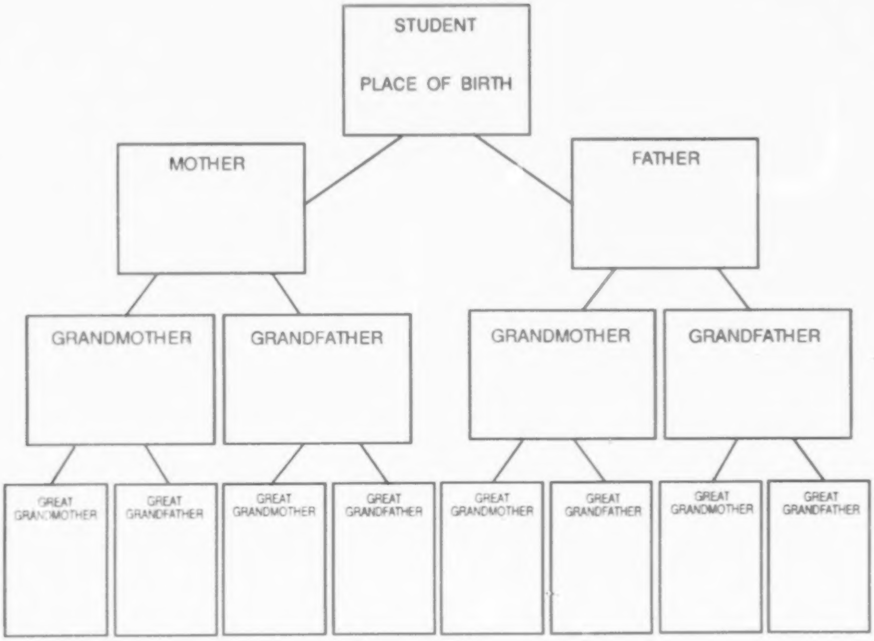
Class Family Tree*

List birth places, not names, in the boxes.


STUDENT
PLACE OF BIRTH
MOTHER
FATHER
GRANDMOTHER
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GREAT GRANDMOTHER
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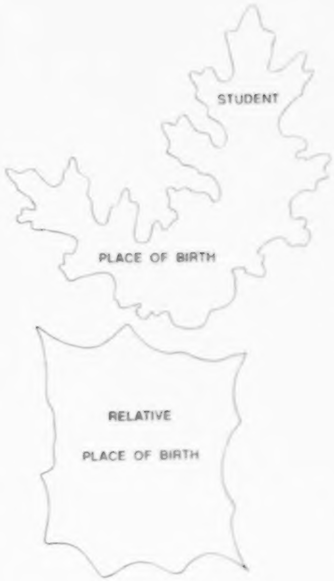
STUDENT
PLACE OF BIRTH
RELATIVE
PLACE OF BIRTH

Cumberland County Folk Arts in Education Participants and Programs

Teacher Glenn Christmann with auctioneer Andrea (Henry) Licciardello
Auctions and the Regional Economy
Main Road School, Franklin Township
Grade six, gifted
Math, Language Arts, Social Studies, Health

Teacher Patricia Cox with fisherman and hunter-guide Albert Reeves
Occupational Folklife along the Maurice River
Maurice River Township Elementary School, Port Elizabeth
Grade four
Language Arts, New Jersey Social Studies, Science

Librarian Susan D'Ottavio with oyster planter Fenton Anderson and boatbuilder John DuBois
Oystermen of the Delaware Bay
Cumberland County Library, Bridgeton
Adult continuing education

Teacher Robert Felmey with narrator Mary Nagao
The History of Local Immigration and the Seabrook Japanese Community
Bridgeton High School, Bridgeton
Grade ten, honors
Social Studies

Teacher Mary Fisher with woodsman Tom Brown
Folklife and the Regional Environment
Downe Township Elementary School, Newport
Grade five
Science, Language Arts, Social Studies

Teacher Renee Ford with gospel singer Joseph Gibbs and oyster planter Fenton Anderson
African-American Folklife in the Delaware Bay Region
Max Leuchter Elementary School, Vineland
Grade three
Social Studies, Science, Language Arts

Teacher Carmen Garcia with origamist Fusaye Kazaoka and musician Juan Dones
Maintaining Cultural Heritage
Cunningham Elementary School, Vineland
Grade four, bilingual
Language Arts

Teacher Eliot Girsang with musicians Arlene and Merce Ridgway, Jr.
Pinelands History through Pinelands Folk Art
Buena Regional High School, Buena
Grades eleven and twelve
Special Education

Teacher Karen Horwitz with quilter Olga Fogg
Communicating Community Traditions
Bridgeton Middle School, Bridgeton
Grade five
Language Arts, Foreign Languages, Visual Arts

Teacher Phyllis James with painter Adalbert Torop, painter Selma Virunurm, and origamist Mariko Ono
Visual Folk Arts and Crafts
Holly Heights and Wood elementary schools, Millville
Grades kindergarten through eight
Visual Arts

Teacher Louise Karwowski with dancer Sunkie Oye
Experiencing Japanese Traditions
Landis Middle School, Vineland
Grade six
Social Studies, Language Arts

Teacher Beatrice Kourtalis with embroiderer Nina Kujdych
Folk Art and Ethnic Identity
Main Road School, Franklin Township
Grade six
Social Studies

Teacher Andrea Manno with painter Adalbert Torop
Estonian-American Folk Culture
Olivet Elementary School, Pittsgrove
Grade three
Visual Arts, Language Arts, Social Studies

Teachers Ronald Manno and Karen Felmey with woodsman Tom Brown
Folklife and the Regional Environment

Bridgeton Middle School, Bridgeton
Grades seven through ten
Special Education

Folklorist Rita Moonsammy and librarian Susan D'Ottavio with oyster shuckers Joseph Gibbs, Beryl Whittington, Evelyn Cisrow, Sarah Cisrow, and Donald Cisrow; oyster planter Fenton Anderson; and boatbuilder John DuBois
Boats and Bivalves
Cumberland County Library, Bridgeton
Youth Education

Teacher Susan Hopkins Rodzewich with homemaker Helen Zimmer
Domestic Arts from Local Resources
Ocean City Arts Center, Ocean City
Youth Education
Girl Scouts

Teacher Mary Fisher feeds ducklings at her home on the Cohansey River. Photograph by Dennis McDonald.

Teacher June Rone with embroiderer Nina Kujdych
Ukrainian Folk Art
Memorial Intermediate School, Vineland
Grades seven and eight, English as a Second Language (ESL)
Language Arts, Visual Arts, Social Studies

Librarian Constance Schuchard with gospel singer Joseph Gibbs
African-American Folklife in the Delaware Bay Region
Dr. Mennies Elementary School, Vineland
Grade four
Media Center Enrichment Program

Teacher Diane Schellack with painters Adalbert Torop and Selma Virunurm
Estonian Culture and Folk Art
Marie Durand Elementary School, Vineland
Grade four
Social Studies, Visual Arts

Teacher Marion Spense with narrator Mary Nagao and origamist Mariko Ono
Folk Art and Japanese Aesthetics
Bridgeton High School, Bridgeton
Grades eleven and twelve
Visual Arts

Teacher Laura Van Embden with woodsman Tom Brown
Folklife and Our Own Locale
Culver Elementary School, Millville
Grade three
Creative Writing

Teacher Joan Woodruff with origamist Mariko Ono and dancer Sunkie Oye
Japanese Culture
Dane Barse Elementary School, Vineland
Primary
English as a Second Language (ESL)

Folk Artists

THE FOLLOWING PEOPLE were identified during the project as practitioners of folk arts and crafts and spokespersons for their cultural communities. Teachers used this list to plan their programs.

Fenton Anderson, Port Norris, oyster planting
Alan Beebe, Cedarville, oyster industry blacksmithing
John Bradford, Laurel Lakes, decoy carving and progging
Tom Brown, Millville, woodsmanship and oral poetry composition
Luba Budalov, Millville, Russian cooking
Abraham Crystal, Norma, Jewish agricultural colonies and wood carving
John DuBois, Absecon, oystering and boat building
Walter Earling, Millville, glass cutting and grinding
Olga Fogg, Shiloh, quilting
Dominic Giacobbe, Vineland, shoemaking
Nerallen Hoffman, Dividing Creek, oyster tonging and net fishing
Betty Jackson, Greenwich, Delaware Indian crafts and lifestyle
Malcolm Jones, Salem, glass mold making
Aita Kangur, Bridgeton, Estonian rya weaving
Fusaye Kazaoka, Bridgeton, Japanese origami and cooking
Nina Kujdych, Vineland, Ukrainian embroidery, pysanky, and wedding-bread making
Antonie Kungla, Seabrook, Estonian cross-stitching
Dorothy Lilly, Millville, lamproom glassblowing
Thomas Lubin, Vineland, Russian chip-carving
Mary Nagao, Bridgeton, Japanese cooking
Mariko Ono, Bridgeton, Japanese origami and ikebana
Sunako Oye, Vineland, Japanese minyo dancing
John Porreca, Vineland, tailoring
Elizabeth Ramos, Vineland, Puerto Rican coconut artifacts
Albert Reeves and Robert Reeves, Mauricetown, progging, fishing, and hunter-guiding
Sam Ronchetti, Vineland, auctioneering
Miguel Serrano, Vineland, Puerto Rican herbalism
Lily Stretch, Roadstown, quilting and farming
Frank Tejeras, Vineland, Puerto Rican folk music
Adalbert Torop, Vineland, Estonian folk painting and silver jewelry making
Selma Virunurm, Bridgeton, Estonian cooking, embroidery, and wood burning

Al Torop making Estonian filigran, circa 1954. Photograph courtesy of Al Torop.

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A member of the senior men's gospel choir at an AME church helps the junior choir perfect its harmony. A Ukrainian-American woman shows a group of her children's friends how to create "psyanky" for Easter. An accomplished "minyo" dancer helps young Japanese-American girls learn dance steps for an Obon festival. A seasoned oysterman gives a young captain tips on handling sails in the complex maneuvers involved in dredging oysters.

Although such learning situations are not part of formal education, they are in fact an important part of each individual's total education. Much of what we need to know to perform effectively in the family, neighborhood, ethnic group, work place, or church is learned through our observation of role models and our interactions with peers and elders. And it is often folk artists schooled by experience, skillful in valued traditions, and determined "to pass it on" who are the educators.

The Cumberland County, New Jersey, Folk Artists in Education program brought community educators such as these together with professional educators to enrich students' appreciation of their own and others' traditional cultures at the same time as they developed basic skills. In *Passing It On* we hear the life stories of nine of these artists and their communities, as well as the stories of how they and their professional partners worked together in the classroom.

The program and this publication were produced through the cooperation of the New Jersey State Council of the Arts, a division of the Department of State; the Cumberland County Library; and the National Endowment for the Arts.